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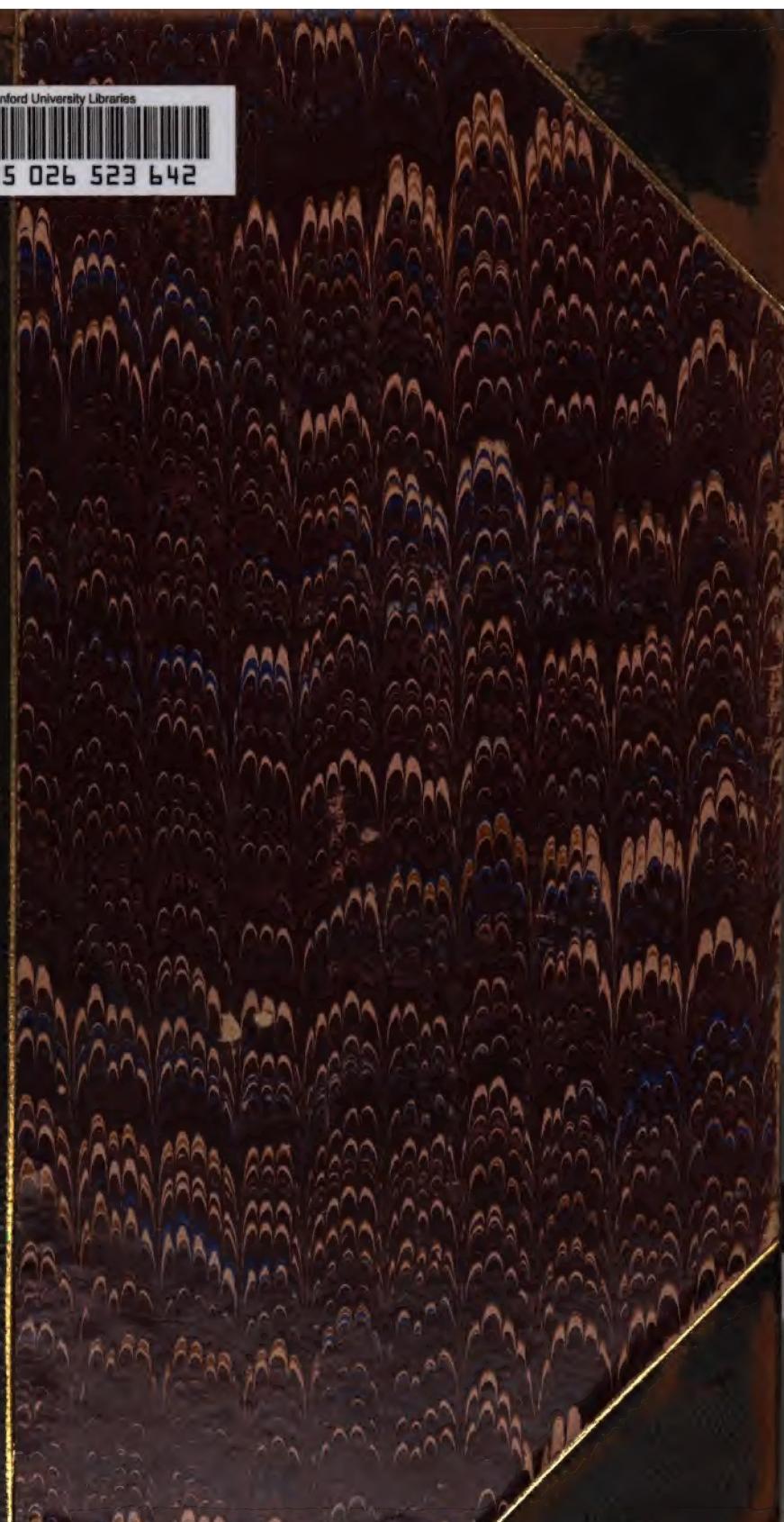
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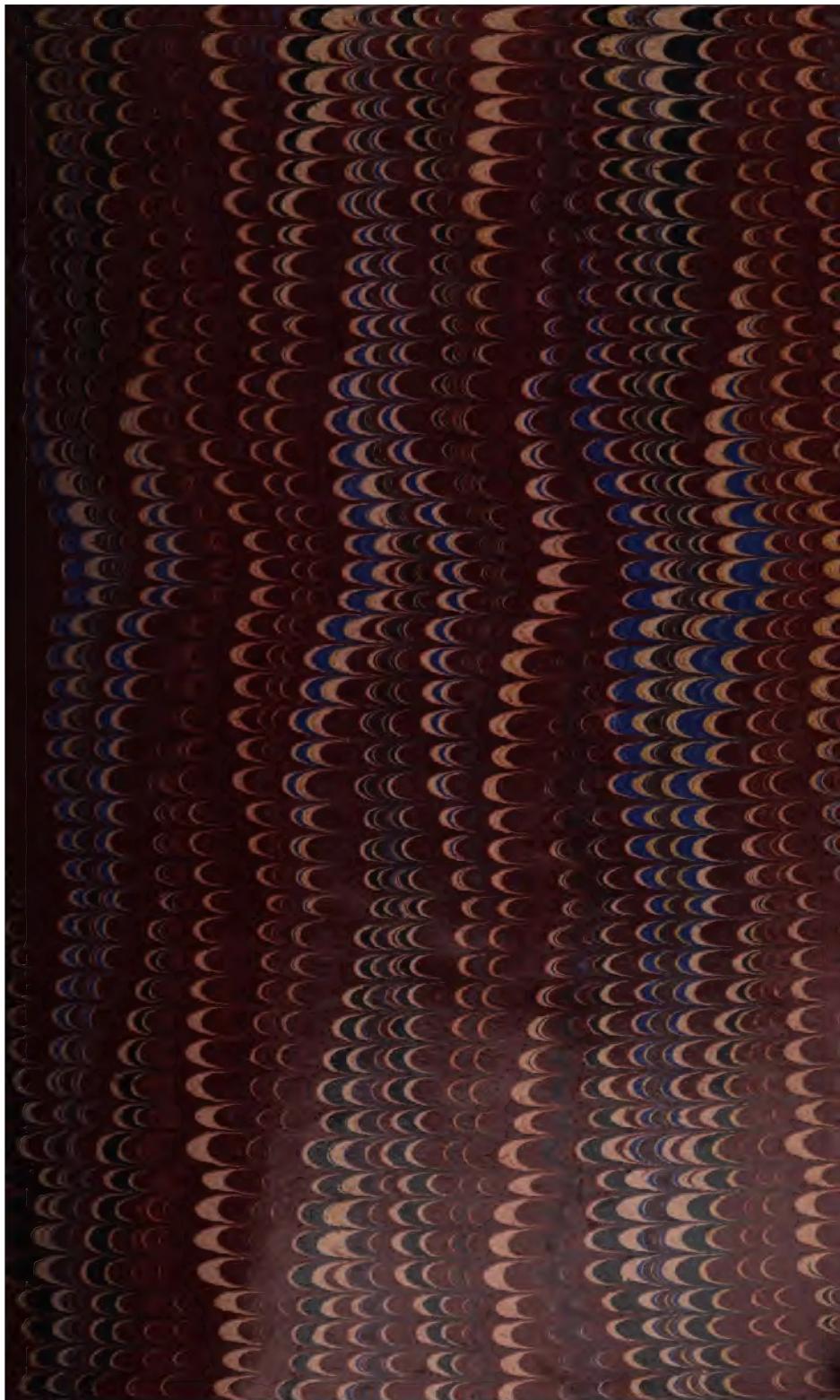
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THE JOURNAL  
OF  
PHILOLOGY.

EMENDATIONES HOMERICAE (OD. X—XII)

κ 8 οἱ δὲ αἰεὶ παρὰ πατρὶ φίλῳ καὶ μητέρι κεδνῇ δαινοῦνται παρὰ δέ σφιν ὄνειατα μυρία κεῖται, κνισῆν δέ τε δῶμα περιστεναχίζεται αὐλῇ ἡματα· νύκτας δὲ αὐτε παρ' αἰδοίης ἀλόχοισιν εῦδουσ' ἐν τε τάπησι καὶ ἐν τρητοῖσι λέχεσσι.

The tantalising uncertainty in l. 10 of this passage is universally recognised. Neither the resources of explanatory comment nor the efforts of conjectural emendation seem to have been able to remove its obscurity. The difficulty centres in the word *αὐλῇ*. There are two traditional variants, *αὐλῇ* (FD post correcturam XTU 2 man. W) and *αὐδῇ* (*γρ. αὐδῇ* X), according to the latest authority, Ludwich (1889), who himself unwisely, as I venture to think, adopts the nominative, *αὐλῇ*.

The rendering of what may be called the vulgate given above would be to this effect:—‘And the house filled with savoury smell sounds all round in the court-yard’. Now by a great effort we may persuade ourselves that Aeolus’ house was like Prospero’s island

“full of noises,  
Sounds and sweet airs, that give delight and hurt not,”

though it is certainly somewhat difficult to read anything like this into *περιστεναχίζεται*. Still our difficulties are not over even then, for as the court-yard did not extend all round the house (*περὶ*) but only before the front, the addition of *αὐλῆ*, 'in the court-yard', is inexplicable. Hence Ernesti did not hesitate to explain *αὐλῆ* 'cantu tibiarum', and Schaefer conjecturally reads *αὐλῆ* with the assumed meaning of 'fluting', 'flute-playing', 'αὐλησις'. So Bekker, Kayser, Friedlaender and the Cambridge Homer (1892). Obviously either *αὐλῆ* in a collective sense (Rochefort) or *αὐλοῖς* would be less objectionable or at any rate easier, as Nitzsch intimates, though he gives the preference himself to *αὐδῆ* comparing i 4. His further suggestion that Eustathius had *εἴλη* is hardly a happy one. Lastly there is Duentzer's proposal, *περιστεναχίζεται* *ἀοιδῆ*, which is not without plausibility and is admitted into the text by van Leeuwen and da Costa (1897), but its appropriateness either to *περιστεναχίζεται* or to *κνισῆν* is at least disputable.

If all these methods of dealing with the line seem unsatisfactory, still more so is the introduction of the nom. case, *αὐλῆ*. 'The court-yard echoes round the steaming house' is of course open to the previous objection, that the court-yard, the *αὐλῆ*, did not extend round the house, besides being somewhat meaningless at the best. The nature of the noise is not specified, but if it was the sound of music, as is generally assumed from :—

*ρ 269 γυγνάσκω δ' ζτι πολλοὶ ἐν αὐτῷ δαῖτα τίθενται  
ἀνδρες, ἐπεὶ κνίση μὲν ἐνήνοθεν, ἐν δέ τε φόρμιγξ  
ἡπύει, ἦν ἄρα δαιτὶ θεοὶ ποίησαν ἐταίρην.*

it would certainly have been heard far beyond the court-yard. This is placed beyond doubt by the explicit statement of :—

*ψ 135 ὡς κέν τις φαίη γάμον ἔμμεναι ἐκτὸς ἀκούων  
ἢ ἀν' ὄδὸν στείχων ἢ οὐ περιναετάουσι,*

where the sound of the *φόρμιγξ*, like that of the modern piano, reaches not only the way-farer on the road outside but even the inmates of the neighbouring houses.

That *δῶμα* is the subject to the verb and not the object

after it seems to me certain from the repetition of the expression in :—

ψ 146 τοῦσιν δὲ μέγα δῶμα περιστεναχίζετο ποσοῖν  
ἀνδρῶν παιζόντων καλλιξώνων τε γυναικῶν.

where moreover  $\pi\sigma\sigma\sigma\pi\nu$  makes for the genuineness of a dative in our passage also.

What then have I to offer as a more probable solution of the difficulty? Simply this:

κνισῆεν δέ τε δῶμα περιστεναχίζετ' ἀντῆ

'the house sounds with the din of voices, with the hum of conversation'. This sense of *āvṛṭi*—there is no need to write *āvṛṭi*—may be found:—

Β 96 έννέα δέ σφεας  
κήρυκες βοώντες ἐρήτυον, εἴ ποτ' ἀντῆς  
σχοιάτ', ἀκούσειαν δὲ διυτρεφέων βασιλήων

So again of the 'heave-ahoy' of the Greek sailors—*τοι διδλήλοισι κέλευον*:

Compare also:—

ζ 122 ὡς τέ με κουράων ἀμφήλυθε θῆλυς ἀντή.

The word by a curious coincidence, if it be one, is exactly rendered by Virgil in a passage frequently adduced here and most erroneously supposed to countenance *avλη*—

Aen. 1. 725

Fit strepitus tectis vocemque per ampla volant  
Atria.

Here *per ampla atra* is simply the usual Virgilian ornate variation of *tectis*, and cannot lend any efficient support to the worse than useless nom. *avλη*, to which in fact it is not in any degree an equivalent. On the other hand *strepitus*, further elucidated by *vocem*,—for Dr Henry's attempt in his interesting and valuable Aeneidea to restrict *strepitus* to the racket made

by the attendants is unsuccessful—is precisely synonymous with *ἀντή* as defined above.

It follows that *περιστεναχίζεται* is not to be explained by reference to any supposed mysterious noises. It in no wise reproduces Virgil's conception of the cave of Aeolus:—

Illi indignantes magno cum murmure montis  
Circum claustra fremunt.

any more than it does Shakespeare's fantasy of Prospero's haunted island. In Homer we have simply a dinner-scene. The leading verb is *δαίνυνται* (l. 9), to which *ἡματα* practically belongs, as Nitzsch and Ludwich would indicate by punctuation. Rather needlessly, I think, for it is applicable not only to the main verb *δαίνυνται*, but also to the supplementary ones *κεῖται* and *περιστεναχίζεται*, v. Journ. Phil. xxvi. p. 139 Remark on *ἄλλοθι* (δ 684). The two intermediate clauses, practically parenthetical, merely serve to give additional details about the feasting and cannot rightly be extended to anything beyond the ordinary accompaniments thereof, in this case conversation rather than music or singing, though the two latter are not necessarily excluded. There is thus no interruption to the continuity of the reference (from l. 8 to l. 12) to the mode of life followed by Aeolus and his family.

It may be well in conclusion to attempt to show how in a simple manner our corrupt tradition *αὐλῆ* may possibly have originated. Assuming this primitive *ἀντῆ*, we may be fairly sure that at an early period in the history of the written text the presentation would be *ἐκ πλήρους* thus:—

*δῶμα περιστεναχίζεται ἀντῆ.*

Nothing could be easier than to misread this into:—

*δῶμα περιστεναχίζεται αὐτῆ,*

which is naturally suggestive of the common idiomatic use of *αὐτός* seen in Θ 24 *αὐτῆ γαίη—αὐτῆ τε θαλάσση*, 290 *ἴππους αὐτοῖσιν δχεσφιν*, θ 186 *αὐτῷ φάρει, φ 54 τόξον αὐτῷ γωρυτῷ*. In the present instance *αὐτῆ* preceded by *δῶμα* readily calls up, and indeed can hardly be supplemented by any other word than, *αὐλῆ*. This from being a mere marginal addition, *δῶμα*—

*αὐτὴν* (*αὐλαῖ*), would end by displacing *αὐτὴν* altogether: and so we are left with the seemingly more important *αὐλαῖ*, which, as we have seen, baffles and will always continue to baffle all rational and legitimate exegesis.

\*

κ 247

ἐν δέ οἱ ὄσσε  
δακρυόφιν πίμπλαντο, γάον δὲ ὠίετο θυμός.

Somewhat reluctantly I have been driven by a close examination of epic usage to the conclusion that the curious phrase, *γάον δὲ ὠίετο θυμός*, 'his soul thought of lamentation', 'wailing was the thought of his soul' is Homerically an illegitimate and indefensible expression. It recurs, it is true, once again, *v* 349, where the whole line is repeated verbatim after *ὄσσε δὲ ἄρα σφέων*. The only advantage however to be derived from this recurrence is that it saves us from the error of making *θυμός* refer to the spectators of the scene, 'their soul expected his weeping', a translation that has actually been suggested as possible here.

At the same time *όίομαι* in the sense of 'expect', 'look for' is strictly in accordance with a recognised Homeric usage e.g. Ν 283 *κῆρας ὄιομένῳ*, β 351 *κεῖνον ὄιομένη*, κ 380 *ἢ τινά που δόλον ἄλλον ὄίει*, *v* 427 *ἄλλὰ τά γ' οὐκ ὄίω*. The question is, can the meaning here required 'I think about some one or some thing' be equally approved for *όίομαι τινά* or *τι*? I am afraid not. We certainly might apply this latter rendering, and some have applied it, to *v* 224:—

ἀλλ' ἔτι τὸν δύστηνον ὄίομαι, εἴ ποθεν ἐλθὼν  
ἀνδρῶν μνηστήρων σκέδασιν κατὰ δώματα θείη

'Ich muss denken an ihn' (Ebeling Lex.). The better supported sense however is not, 'I must still think of him', 'still my thought is ever of' (Butcher and Lang), but simply 'I am still expecting, looking for, him'. β 351 is precisely in the same position. So also χ 159 *τόν περ ὄίω* does not mean, 'whom I am thinking of', but, 'whom I suspect', 'and I expect it is he', cf. χ 165 *ὅν ὄιόμεθ' αὐτοῖ*, 'whom we ourselves thought

likely'. The only other passage, so far as I am aware, which affords any justification for assuming the legitimacy of the meaning under discussion is:—

*p* 580 *μυθεῖται κατὰ μοῖραν ἢ πέρ κ' ὄλοιτο καὶ ἄλλος*

Here also I am strongly inclined to believe the sense is 'just that which any one else would expect', 'quae suscipetur' (Ebeling); we might paraphrase, 'he expresses the *apprehensions* that any one else would feel'. Even if we take the meaning to be 'what any one else would think', there is a considerable interval between *ἢ πέρ κ' ὄλοιτο* and *γάσον ᾱίετο*. The former is far from being a justification of the latter.

However it is undoubtedly difficult to prove to demonstration the Homeric impossibility of *γάσον ᾱίετο*: the niceties of language are apt to elude the most careful investigation. Still it can hardly be denied that the phrase is of a dubious and isolated character, and if so, there is room for a suggestion, more especially one following the *ductus litterarum* as closely as what I now propose:

*γάσων δέ οἱ ᾱετο θυμός.*

Obviously the vulgate ΓΟΟΝΔΕΟΙΕΤΟ (with δέ for δ) differs little, and indeed is but one iota removed, from ΓΟΟΝΔΕΟΙ-ΙΕΤΟ. The sense gained by the new reading is, I venture to say, unimpeachable and thoroughly Homeric: 'on lamentation his soul was set', 'his soul yearned for wailing'.

We may compare the recurrent *τοῖσιν ὑφ' ἵμερος ὁρτο* *γάσοι*, *ὑφ' ἵμερον ὁρτε γάσοι*, *γάσον ἵμερον ὁρτεν*, and for the genitive after *ἵεσθαι κ* 529 *ἵέμενος ποταμοῖο ῥοάων*, *ο* 69 *ἵέμενον* *νόστοιο*, Λ 168 *ἵέμενοι πόλιοι*, Ψ 371 *νίκης ιεμένων*, Ψ 718, 767.

There remains however one difficulty which may seem hard to settle. The evidence for an initial *F* in *ἵετο* is exceedingly strong. This particular form never occurs in the fourth foot without a short open vowel preceding. Of course we may deliberately shut our eyes to the digamma altogether and say stoically with La Roche (Praefat. ad Iliadem) 'Digammi rationem habui fere nullam'. We might even go a step further and renounce Homer and all his works. In this case however the disregard of the digamma has some little basis on

which to rest. *iέμενος* is preceded by a dactyl ending in a consonant twice κ 246, ξ 142, where *έσσύμενος* may possibly have been the original word. Two other passages β 327 *έπει* νύ περ *λεται* and Σ 501 *άμφω δ' iέσθην* are also recalcitrant. Still there must be some hesitation about adding to these exceptions.

Possibly then some may be disposed to leave the noun here in the singular number, as is indeed usual, and read:—

*γόσιο δὲ λέτο θυμός.*

On the other hand it must be admitted that the possibility of this being converted into the traditional reading is not by any means equally apparent.

For my own part I have faith in the principle I ventured to lay down in discussing *a* 37 (Journ. Phil. **xxvi**. 51, p. 113 f.), and accordingly I conceive that the true original ran thus with elision of *-οι*:—

*γόων δέ Φ' ἐφίετο θυμός.*

in exact correspondence with:—

*έπει πρό Φ' ἐφείπομεν ήμεῖς.*

In the later passage, *v* 349, either *γόσιο δὲ λέτο* or *γόων δ' ἄρα*—there is no place for a pronoun—would necessarily be made to conform to the corruption here.

\*

κ 410 ως δ' ὅτ' ἀν ἄγραυλοι πόριες περὶ βοῦς ἀγελαίας,  
ἐλθούσας ἐς κόπρον, ἐπήν βοτάνης κορέσωνται,  
πᾶσαι ἄμα σκαίρουσιν ἐναντίαι· οὐδ' ἔτι σηκοὶ<sup>1</sup>  
ἰσχουσ', ἀλλ' ἀδινὸν μυκώμεναι ἀμφιθέουσι  
μητέρας· ως ἐμὲ κεῖνοι, ἐπεὶ ἵδον ὁφθαλμοῖσι,  
δακρυόεντες ἔχυντο· δόκησε δ' ἄρα σφίσι θυμὸς  
ως ἔμεν ως εἰ πατρίδ' ἵκοίατο καὶ πόλιν αὐτὴν  
τρηχείης Ἰθάκης, ἵνα τ' ἔτραφεν ήδ' ἐγένοντο·

There are a few points in this passage that invite brief notice. For *ώς δ' ὅτ' ἄν*, van Leeuwen and da Costa (1897) read *ώς δ' ὅτε κ'*, but as the pure subjunctive is the rule in a simile, *ώς δ'*

ὅτε τ' (cf. M 132) should probably stand not only here but in all the instances enumerated by Mr Monro H. G. § 289, to which we may add κ 216, χ 468, K 5, M 41, O 80, Ω 480.

The form *πόριες*, which can only be supported from Euripides and Theocritus, should be replaced by the more correct *πόρτιες*, which even here is not entirely without MSS. authority (*πόρτιες* F, post corr. D (D<sup>2</sup>?) U<sup>2</sup>, Eust. H. Steph.) Ludwich. Evidently *πόριες* proceeds mainly from the difficulty of realising that *πόρτιες* can be scanned --. *πόρτις* might certainly be written, but *πόρτιες* seems preferable for the reason given by Porson in favour of *Αθηνέων* (γ 278). Compare also remarks on κ 493 ad fin.

In 411 ἐπει may be accepted instead of ἐπήν. The comma after *κορέσωνται* involves the adoption of Bekker's *σκαιρωσι* in the next line; but it is open to question whether it would not be better to follow Ameis-Hentze and change the comma into a colon, not making an anacoluthon, but leaving the substantive verb (*ἔωσι*) to be understood after *ὅτε τε*, as in E 481, N 323: compare also Λ 535, where we now find generally printed ἀντυγε, αλ περὶ δίφρον (sc. ησαν).

The main difficulty of the passage however meets us when we get to l. 415. Obviously *ἔχυντο* cannot govern *ἐμέ* (l. 414), as *ἀμφέχυντο* might have done, so that it is of no avail to appeal to such a passage as π 214 *ἀμφιχυθεὶς πατέρ' ἐσθλόν*. Usage is decidedly against removing the comma after *κεῖνοι* with Bekker. Hence Kirchhoff, Fick and van Herwerden call in question the validity of ll. 415-17, regarding them as interpolated.

I would venture to suggest as an alternative that *ἔχυντο* is corrupt and should be simply corrected to *ἴκοντο*, which saves both grammar and sense. 'In such wise, when they saw me with their eyes, they came to me weeping' seems adequate enough to the occasion. *ἔχυντο* may well have been suggested by π 214; *ἀμφιθέουσι* (413) would help to maintain it as well as the idea, a very natural one, that it gives more pathos to the picture. Perhaps we should be nearer the mark in saying that it gives too much. Certainly Odysseus with half the ship's crew hanging about his neck would find the situation morally

and physically almost overwhelming. Of the other interpretation that has been suggested, 'in lacrimas effusi sunt', it is enough to say that it is not possible.

Lastly δόκησε δ' ἄρα σφίσι θυμὸς | ως ἔμεν must surely be read δόκησε δ' ἄρα σφίσι θυμῷ. The meaning is not "and their feeling seemed (to me) to be just as if, &c.", but "for it seemed to them in their soul to be as if &c." If this is not obvious in itself, it is surely placed beyond question or cavil by a comparison of:—

v 93 μερμήριζε δ' ἔπειτα, δόκησε δέ οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν  
ἡδη γυγνώσκουσα παρεστάμεναι κεφαλῆφι.

The whole passage with the alterations I have advocated would stand thus:

ώς δ' ὅτε τ' ἄγραυλοι πόρτιες περὶ βοῦς ἀγελαίας,  
ἐλθούσας ἐς κόπρον, ἐπεὶ βοτάνης κορέσωντας  
πᾶσαι ἄμα σκαίρουσιν ἐναντίαις οὐδὲ ἔτι σηκοὶ<sup>ισχουσ'</sup>, ἀλλ' ἀδιὸν μυκώμεναι ἀμφιθέουσι  
μητέρας· ως ἐμὲ κεῖνοι, ἐπεὶ ἵδον ὀφθαλμοῖσι,  
δακρυόνεντες ἵκοντο δόκησε δ' ἄρα σφίσι θυμῷ  
ώς ἔμεν ως εἰ πατρὶδ' ἵκοιατο καὶ πόλιν αὐτὴν  
τρηχείης Ἰθάκης, ἵνα τ' ἔτραφεν ηδ' ἐγένοντο·

\*

κ 432 Κίρκης ἐς μέγαρον καταβήμεναι, ή κεν ἀπαντας  
ἢ σὺς ἡὲ λύκους ποιήσεται ἡὲ λέοντας,  
οἱ κέν οἱ μέγα δῶμα φυλάσσοιμεν καὶ ἀνάγκη,  
ώς περ Κύκλωψ ἔρξ, ὅτε οἱ μέσσαυλον ἵκοντο  
ημέτεροι ἔταροι, σὺν δὲ οὐ θρασὺς εἴπετο 'Οδυσσεύς·

The passage is thus translated by Messrs Butcher and Lang:— 'to go down to the hall of Circe, who will surely change us all to swine or wolves or lions to guard her great house perforce, according to the deeds that the Cyclops wrought, when certain of our company went to his inmost fold and with them went Odysseus ever hardy'. Apart from the admitted uncertainty of the rendering of l. 434 (v. Dr Merry's note) there is in the clause corresponding to ως περ Κύκλωψ ἔρξ an unmistakable

tinge of vagueness, which would, I think, disappear, if we were to restore the integrity of the two concluding lines by reading and punctuating thus:—

ѡς περ Κύκλωψ ἔρξ', ὅτε οἱ μέσταυλον ἵκοντο,  
ἡμετέρους ἑτάρους, σὺν δὲ θρασὺς εἶπετ' Ὁδυσσεύς.

In the vulgate it seems natural to suppose that the unmetsrical *ἡμέτεροι ἑταροι* has superseded the accusative owing to the strictness of the grammatical views of some forgotten critic, who either could not extend his regard beyond the proximate verb *ἵκοντο* or who realised too vividly that *σὺν δὲ θρασὺς κτλ.* was part and parcel of the temporal sentence. The inter-locking of clauses is however Homeric enough, e.g. θ 475-6

νώτου ἀποπροταμών, ἐπὶ δὲ πλεῖον ἐλέλειπτο,  
ἀργιόδοντος νός, θαλερὴ δ' ἦν ἀμφὶς ἀλοιφὴ

The exact meaning of *ἔρξ'* in our reconstructed clause calls for some remark. If it were not for the closely similar:—

ψ 312 ἡδ' ὅσα Κύκλωψ ἔρξε,

where *ἔρξε* unquestionably comes from *ἔρδω*, I am afraid I should without much hesitation take *ἔρξ'* here with Adam and Ameis-Hentze as the aor. of *ἔργω* (*ἔέργω*), although there is but one other instance of this form in Homer, § 411, where moreover the scansion is decidedly curious. However to say 'just as the Cyclops penned in our comrades' is not materially different from saying 'just as the Cyclops treated our comrades', if, as Nitzsch believed we ought to do, we follow the Ambros. Schol. in the explanation of *φυλάσσοιμεν* in the preceding line, *τηροῖμεν, οὐχὶ φυλάσσειν δῶμα ἀλλὰ τὸ αἷς ἐκεῖσε εἶναι*. This involves no innovation with regard to *φυλάσσω* as ε 210 *τόδε δῶμα φυλάσσοις* bears witness, and it may be observed that in κ 214-9 the wolves and lions, whether they are human beings transformed or not, appear rather to play the part of lures and decoys than of guards.

Accordingly I would render from l. 434 thus:—

'and so we should abide perforce in her great house, in the same

way as the Cyclops dealt with our comrades, when they came to his steading, and our rash leader was with them'.

\*

$\kappa$  493 *μάντηος ἀλαοῦ τοῦ τε φρένες ἔμπεδοί εἰσιν*  
 $\mu$  267 *μάντηος ἀλαοῦ Θηβαίου Τειρεσίαο,*

I transcribe from the apparatus criticus of Ludwich (1889) (1) on  $\kappa$  493: *μάντηος ἀλαοῦ* M (coniecit Hermann Elem. doctr. metr. 347), Bekker; *μαντῆος ἀλαοῦ* conjectit Thiersch Gr. Gramm. § 190, 22; *μάντιος ἀλαοῦ* MSS. sch. Plat. Menon. 100<sup>a</sup>, Eust.; *μάντιος ἀγλαοῦ* X; *μάντιος ἀλαός* P. Knight; *μάντιος ἀλαόιο* Hartel Hom. Stud. III 9 (13). (2) on  $\mu$  267: *μάντηος* coniecit Hermann, Bekker; *μάντιος* G ut MSS. al. ( $\epsilon$  super  $\iota$  scil. G<sup>2</sup>).

Although there is but one MS., Venetus Marcianus 613, which shows *μάντηος ἀλαοῦ* most editors, Bekker, La Roche, Ameis-Hentze, Fäsi, Düntzer, Merry, Platt, Monro, adopt this unique form (the regular gen. *μάντιος* is found N 663), although even then the second foot is a very dubious dactyl. On the other hand if following Ahrens and the more recent editors van Leeuwen and da Costa we accept Knight's *μάντιος ἀλαός*, the metrical difficulty is only moved one step forward to the third foot where - $\bar{o}$ , *τοῦ* (or - $\bar{o}$ , *τόο*) is an utterly impossible spondee (or dactyl).

Under these circumstances it seems worth while to propose a third solution of the difficulty:—

*ἀλαός μάντιος, τοῦ τε φρένες ἔμπεδοί εἰσιν*

This transposition of the adjective and noun removes every objection on the score of metrical sufficiency. To the Greeks in later times however this reading would necessarily seem much too severely archaic, and they would readily welcome in its stead even such an unsuccessful measure of relief as the vulgate. I shall not discuss at length the lengthening of a short open vowel before initial  $\mu$ . The analogies are well known. But the treatment of the genitival termination *-ιος* as a long syllable deserves further illustration:—

B 811 ἔστι δέ τις προπάροιθε πόλιος αἰπεῖα κολώνη,  
 Φ 567 εἰ δέ κέ οἱ προπάροιθε πόλιος κατεναυτίον ἔλθω·

Bekker in both places would read *πόλεος* without authority in the first case and with one MS. L only in the second. Mr Monro gives some countenance to this needless change by adopting it in Φ 567 (Oxford Homer 1896).

I will now subjoin a few passages in which this scansion — of *πόλιος* may be admitted with advantage:—

ξ 262 αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν πόλιος ἐπιβήσομεν ἦν πέρι πύργος

Here the late form ἐπὴν no less than the metre authorises:—

αὐτὰρ ἐπεί κε πόλιος

a restoration due to Mr Monro H. G. § 362, though he writes *πόλεος* again.

ξ 294 τόσσον ἀπὸ πτόλιος ὕσσον τε γέγωνε βοήσας.

The analogy of H 334 τυτθὸν ἀποπρὸν νεῶν gives a fair warrant for

τόσσον ἀποπρὸν πόλιος.

π 471 ἥδη ὑπὲρ πόλιος, θθι θ' Ἔρμαιος λόφος ἔστιν,

A remedy of a similar character to the above is equally applicable and equally called for by the metre here:—

ἥδη ὑπερθε πόλιος.

For the improper preposition with genitive cf. Monro H. G. § 228.

P 147 εἰσι περὶ πτόλιος, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρα τις χάρις ἦεν.

If we remove the prep. *περὶ*, which is scarcely appropriate here for the more suitable and more usual *πρόσθε*, both sense and metre are advantaged:—

εἰσι πρόσθε πόλιος.

Cf. θ 524 ὡς τε ἔης πρόσθεν πόλιος λαῶν τε πέσησιν, II 833, Φ 587, Δ 54, also Φ 567 quoted above. I may also refer in this behalf to:

T 292 εἰδον πρὸ πτόλιος δεδαιγμένον δξεῖ χαλκῷ.

for the corrupt opening of which line I have on independent grounds suggested as probable:—

*εἰσέιδον πρὸ πόλιος,*

and the present argument tends to confirm the remarks then made, v. *Journ. Phil.* xxv. p. 303.

The acc. *πόλιας* is dissyllabic,  $\omega -$ , in two passages:—

$\theta$  560 *καὶ πάντων ἵσασι πόλιας καὶ πίονας ἀγροὺς*  
 $\beta$  574 *ἀνθρώπων, αὐτούς τε πόλιάς τ' ἐν ναιεταούσας,*

and in all probability we should be right in substituting this form for *πόλεις* in B 648, I 328,  $\Sigma$  342, 490.

\*

$\kappa$  505 *μή τί τοι ἡγεμόνος γε ποθὴ παρὰ νηὶ μελέσθω,*

There is a suspicious redundancy about the expression *ποθὴ μελέσθω*, ‘desiderium sit tibi curae’. It does not exhibit the true Homeric note of simplicity and directness. The ring is rank falsetto. Next we cannot fail to observe that the form *μελέσθω*, the imperative mood of the middle voice, is unique. Elsewhere with tolerable frequency *μελέτω* is found, e.g.:—

$\Omega$  152 = 181 *μηδέ τι οἱ θάνατος μελέτω φρεσὶ μηδέ τι τάρβος·*  
 $\Omega$  231 =  $\alpha$  305 *σοὶ δὲ αὐτῷ μελέτω,*

$\beta$  304 *(μή τί τοι ἀλλο) ἐν στήθεσσι κακὸν μελέτω ἔργον τε*  
*ἔπος τε*

$\delta$  415 *καὶ τότ' ἔπειθ' ὑμῖν μελέτω κάρτος τε βίη τε,*

$\eta$  208 *Ἄλκινο', ἀλλο τί τοι μελέτω φρεσίν·*

There is indeed one passage, and one passage only, which gives countenance to this peculiar use of the middle voice of the verb *μέλω*:—

$\Lambda$  523 *ἔμοὶ δέ κε ταῦτα μελήσεται, ὅφρα τελέσσω·*

where the original may well have been *μελήσωσ'* or *μεμήλωσ'*; but whatever may be said of this suggestion, the weakness and unsatisfactory character of *μελέσθω* in  $\kappa$  505 stands confessed, so that here at least a restoration of the true verb may be essayed with some confidence. Moreover we have in this case

a surer basis than that of mere conjecture in the possibility of an appeal to analogous usage and to some extent of tradition also. I would submit that the true reading of the line is:—

*μή τί τοι ἡγεμόνος γε ποθὴ παρὰ νηὶ γενέσθω,*

of which the literal rendering would run thus:—'Let there not be unto thee in any wise anxiety for a guide with thy ship', *παρὰ νηὶ* qualifying *ἡγεμόνος*, 'a guide to accompany the ship', as in the examples I have already adduced, v. *Journ. Philol.* **xxiv.** p. 280.

In actual use the combination of *ποθὴ* and *γένησθαι* occurs:—

*Λ 471 ἐσθλὸς ἐών, μεγάλη δὲ ποθὴ Δαναοῖσι γένηται*

and again in a line unmistakably cast in the same mould as *κ 505*:—

*θ 414 μηδέ τί τοι ξίφεός γε ποθὴ μετόπισθε γένοιτο.*

I do not know that the cogency of the above argument is really increased by the fact that *γενέσθω* is the actual reading of one of the two leading MSS. of the *Odyssey*, Flor. Laurent. 52, but undoubtedly many scholars will thereby be more willing to give ear to the objection against *μελέσθω* and to admit the alternative and, as I believe, genuine verb.

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*λ 66 νῦν δέ σε τῶν ὅπιθεν γουνάζομαι, οὐ παρεόντων,  
πρός τ' ἀλόχου καὶ πατρός, ὃ σ' ἔτρεφε τυτθὸν ἔοντα,  
Τηλεμάχου θ', δν μοῦνον ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔλειπες.*

*τῶν ὅπιθεν*, 'by those left behind at home', *τῶν καταλελειμένων οἴκοι* (Schol.), exemplifies an idiom familiar enough in later Greek. A deep shadow of suspicion however rests upon it in Homer, although it would be absurd to deny the existence of a certain amount of support for the expression in the text as received. Without entering into a particular examination of the validity of the several passages I may refer to I 524, 557, χ 220. But whatever possibilities of correctness in epic phraseology *τῶν ὅπιθεν* may possess, little regret would assuredly be

felt at its removal, provided the substituted reading be satisfactory in point of meaning and conformable to Homeric usage.

With due regard to these essential conditions, I would point out that without any alteration the traditional letters admit of being divided thus:—

*νῦν δέ σ' ἐτῶν δπιθεν*

‘by thy kindred left behind’. That the adverb may be attached attributively to the noun without the intervention of any article is sufficiently certain, v. Journ. Phil. xxiv. p. 280. But it is very doubtful whether *ἐτης*, being originally *ϝέτης*, can admit the elision before it, cf. δ 16, Z 239, &c. It seems necessary then to omit the *δέ* and to let the sentence begin asyndetically *νῦν σε ἐτῶν*, as does β 68 *λίσσομαι ἡμέν Ζηνὸς Ὄλυμπίου ἡδὲ Θέριστος*, a passage usually quoted to justify the genitive here without preposition. That the genitive alone is quite accurate may be freely admitted; but here it is curious that a preposition is used in the very next line. This, I submit, constitutes a material difference—in Homer the use of a preposition with the second of two nouns only is almost unknown—a difference, which leads me to suspect that *νῦν δέ σε* has been transferred here from ν 324 *νῦν δέ σε πρὸς πατρὸς γουνάζομαι*. Possibly then the original stood:—

*πρὸς σε ἐτῶν δπιθεν.*

Compare the repetition of *πρὸς* in A 339–40:—

*πρὸς τε θεῶν μακάρων πρὸς τε θιητῶν ἀνθρώπων,  
καὶ πρὸς τοῦ βασιλῆος ἀπηνέος.*

\*

λ 338 *ξεῖνος δ' αὐτ' ἐμός ἐστι, ἔκαστος δ' ἔμμορε τιμῆς.*

*τῷ μὴ ἐπειγόμενοι ἀποπέμπετε μηδὲ τὰ δῶρα  
οὐτῷ χρηιζοντι κολούετε.*

The meaning of *ἔκαστος δ' ἔμμορε τιμῆς* here cannot be said to be satisfactorily determined. Indeed the usual translation, ‘each of you hath share in the honour’, viz. of entertaining the stranger, seems to me quite impossible. There is nothing in

Homer to indicate that the discharge of the duties of hospitality was ever looked upon as an honour conferred on the entertainer. To him it was necessarily, as Cicero in humorous mood would say, more of an onus than an *honos*, cf. *p* 382-6. Nor even if the honour to the host be granted, is it obvious why the other guests should be sharers in the commodity. But something more than this questionable rendering of the present passage is required to make it at all credible that this idea of the presence of a distinguished guest reflecting honour on his host belongs to the primitive simplicity of the heroic age. It is rather the product of an artificial and conventional courtesy, developed under the mellowing influence of material progress, and forming one of the distinctive elements of a later refinement and civilisation.

Nitzsch, obviously shrinking from the sentimental politeness and conventional etiquette of the above view, proceeds to file down *τιμή*, till it means no more than 'good part', 'agreeable duty', as we might say. To do him no injustice, his version is:—'er ist nun mein *Gastfreund*, aber jeder von euch hat sein gutes Theil in ihm'. This may possibly imply that Odysseus is a piece of valuable property, in which they all have a share: but how or why that should be, is a mystery not explained even by Nitzsch's quotation of Hes. Op. 345:—

ἔμμορέ τοι τιμῆς, δος τ' ἔμμορε γείτονος ἐσθλοῦ.

'wo Hermann Werth übersetzt'.

Eustathius boldly makes the clause anticipate the concluding sentence in Arete's speech:—

πολλὰ γὰρ ὕμμιν  
κτήματ' ἐνὶ μεγάροισι θεῶν ίστητι κέονται.

so that it becomes equivalent to 'each of you has got valuable assets', 'you are all men of property', *ἔκαστον τῶν ἀκροατῶν τιμῆς μοῖραν ἔχειν ἐν τε ἄλλοις καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ πλούτειν*. This mistake is not quite reproduced in the scholion, *μοῖραν ἔχει τὴν οὐσίαν, ὥστε τιμᾶν δύνασθαι*. The last clause saves the case. The writer may have been hesitating between 'property' and 'honour'; but we may give him credit for intending to render:—'each of you hath his share in the honouring of him'.

For my part I regard this last version as manifestly better than any of those already mentioned, and if it squared with the repetition of the clause in the well-known passage O 189:—

τρεῖς γάρ τ' ἐκ Κρόνου εἰμὲν ἀδελφεοί, οὓς τέκετο 'Ρέα,  
Ζεὺς καὶ ἑγώ, τρίτατος δ' Ἀΐδης, ἐνέροισι ἀνάσσων.  
τριχθὰ δὲ πάντα δέδαστο, ἔκαστος δ' ἔμμορε τιμῆς.

it might be regarded as entirely satisfactory. Unfortunately this is not so. There can be no possible doubt that the meaning of *τιμή* there is 'royal prerogative', as in A 278 ὁμοίης ἔμμορε τιμῆς, Z 193, ω 30, Hym. Dem. 150. This is, I think, the true meaning in our passage also. 'Each of you shares our royalty', 'our royal rank and prerogative'. In other words, we are all *βασιλῆς* together. We, Alcinous and I, have no claim to be greater than the rest of you, as indeed Alcinous himself says, θ 388, making the admission, exactly as Arete does here, an argument for a generous treatment of his guest by his fellow kings:—

οἱ ξεῖνοι μάλα μοι δοκέει πεπνυμένος εἶναι.  
ἀλλ' ἄγε οἱ δῶμεν ξεινήιον, ώς ἐπιεικές.  
δῶδεκα γάρ κατὰ δῆμον ἀριτρεπέες βασιλῆς  
ἀρχὸι κραίνουσι, τρισκαιδέκατος δ' ἑγώ αὐτός.

There is moreover a singularly close parallelism between that speech of the king and this of Arete, the queen.

The next clause *τῷ μὴ ἐπειγόμενοι ἀποπέμπετε*, 'therefore send him not home in haste', has some bearing on this view I have advocated. It seems indeed highly probable that Kirchhoff's *μων* for *μή* is right, the intrusion of *μή* being due to a groundless fear lest 'sending Odysseus home quickly' should imply rather an inhospitable eagerness to be rid of him as soon as possible. Undoubtedly the alteration has left *τῷ* almost destitute of sense, whatever be our rendering of *ἔκαστος δ' ἔμμορε τιμῆς*. 'Because you are kings, do not send him home quickly' is only one whit less unsatisfactory than 'because you are honoured by his company, do not', &c., and both are capped in absurdity by 'because you have plenty of money', &c.

But the propriety of *τῷ* 'therefore' (cf. *γάρ* in θ 391) is plain enough, if we understand the queen to speak to this effect:—Your prerogatives are equal to ours. You have a right to a voice in the matter of his treatment: *therefore* I ask you to comply with his request and give him conveyance home speedily. The Homeric received opinion is that the host fulfils his duty best by sending home (*ἀποπέμπειν*) those who appeal to him as guests and suppliants, and that with no undue delay. Observe how Aeolus takes credit to himself:—

*κ 65 ή μέν σ' ἐνδυκέως ἀπεπέμπομεν,*

and again the extent of what is implied in the apologetic statement:—

*κ 73 οὐ γάρ μοι θέμις ἔστι κομιζέμεν οὐδ' ἀποπέμπειν  
ἄνδρα τόν, ὃς κε θεοῖσιν ἀπέχθηται μακάρεσσιν.*

Compare also Menelaus' exposition of the whole duty of a host ο 68—74.

I cannot however feel any confidence in the genuine character of the glaring hiatus in *ἐπειγόμενοι ἀποπέμπετε*. I should venture to restore the metre by a slight change, thus:—

*τῷ μιν ἐπειγομένως ἀποπέμπετε*

cf. *ἐσσυμένως*, *ἐπισταμένως*. The Greeks in fact always retained a number of similar adverbs from pres. and perf. participles, e.g. *πρεπόντως*, *εἰωθότως*. In two other passages this form *ἐπειγομένως* may be read with distinct advantage, viz.:—

Z 388 *ή μὲν δὴ πρὸς τεῖχος ἐπειγομένη ἀφικάνει,*

E 902 *ώς δ' ὅτ' ὅπὸς γάλα λευκὸν ἐπειγόμενος συνέπηξεν*

Palaeographically *ἐπειγόμενος* and *ἐπειγομένως* are identical, and not even hiatus licitus can be appealed to for the maintenance of *ἐπειγομένη ἀφικάνει*. So also in X 22 *σευάμενος* may have displaced an original *ἐσσυμένως*.

We now come to *μηδὲ τὰ δῶρα*, for which van Herwerden's *μηδέ τι δῶρα*, 'nor in any wise stint your gifts', is doubtless correct. *τὰ δῶρα* is variously explained (1) as 'your previous gifts', v. θ 439 f., or (2) as 'the usual gifts'. The first is obviously erroneous; the second fails to recognise the fact that

the usual gifts had already been given. Of course according to the prevalent style of destructive or disintegrating criticism this would ensure, or at least warrant, the rejection of the passage in Book VIII. Surely the most legitimate and reasonable conclusion is, that *τὰ δῶρα* is merely a modernisation of a very natural and simple character.

An instance of a corruption of a somewhat different kind, springing from a different motive, may possibly be found in the lines which immediately precede our passage. We read thus:—

Φαίηκες, πῶς ὕμμιν ἀνὴρ ὅδε φαίνεται εἶναι  
εἶδος τε μέγεθός τε ιδὲ φρένας ἔνδον ἔισας;

I would suggest that the various and strenuous efforts to explain *ἔισας*, as (1) 'good' *ένει*, (2) 'well-balanced', (3) 'commensurate with his physical endowments', (4) 'bright', have been necessitated, only because a would-be improver thought that *ἔισας* was a more effective and graphic epithet, whatever the meaning might be (*omne ignotum pro magnifico*), than the simple and sufficient

ἔνδον ἔοισας,

which indeed is by no means otiose as a qualification of *φρένας* here or where it recurs § 178. On the other hand *ἔισας* being, as we are bound to assume, laudatory in its significance practically begs the main question and makes the queen's demand, —πῶς ὕμμιν ἀνὴρ ὅδε φαίνεται εἶναι;—an idle and nugatory form.

\*

λ 401 ἡέ σ' ἀνάρσιοι ἄνδρες ἐδηλήσαντ' ἐπὶ χέρσον  
βοῦς περιταμνόμενον ἡδ' οἰῶν πώεα καλά,  
ἡὲ περὶ πτόλιος μαχεούμενον ἡδὲ γυναικῶν;

These lines recur in the concluding book of the poem with an important difference. The pronominal object after the principal verb is no longer singular but plural. We read accordingly:—

ω 111 ἡ που ἀνάρσιοι ἄνδρες ἐδηλήσαντ' ἐπὶ χέρσον  
βοῦς περιταμνομένους ἡδ' οἰῶν πώεα καλά,  
ἡὲ περὶ πτόλιος μαχεούμενοι ἡδὲ γυναικῶν;

Metrically this latter passage has a distinct advantage, in as much as the third foot in  $\omega$  112 is an undeniable and unexceptional spondee, which is more than can be said of  $\lambda$  402, where the mysterious potency of ictus-lengthening has to come to the rescue. Both passages exhibit the extraordinary participial form  $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\omega\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma$  with however the notable difference that in  $\lambda$  it agrees with the object after  $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\eta\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\tau\tau\alpha$ , but in  $\omega$  with the subject to that verb. Hence Wolf, Kayser and others would read  $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\omega\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma\iota$  in  $\lambda$  also, the plural being supported there by one MS., Cod. Vratislaviensis 28. Obviously the reverse assimilation is debarred by the metre. It would be too much to say that the plural  $\gamma\mu\nu\alpha\kappa\hat{\omega}\nu$  is more consistent with the plural participle: but the combination  $\pi\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma\omega$ — $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\omega\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma\iota$  has this advantage; it makes the victim in each case the aggressor. It is noteworthy that in these two points the superiority rests with  $\omega$  as against  $\lambda$ , although we can well imagine how gratifying as a piece of evidence the converse would have been to many scholars headed by Aristarchus, who have found much to complain of in the two concluding books of the *Odyssey*.

The form  $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\omega\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma\omega$  for  $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\omega\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma\omega$  is a remarkable, indeed an astounding, linguistic development. That a presumed  $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\omega\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma\omega$  may for metrical reasons become  $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\omega\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma\omega$  is strictly in accordance with other recognised and well-established analogies, e.g.  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma\omega$ ,  $\nu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\omega$ ,  $\pi\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega$ ,  $\o\iota\nu\beta\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\omega$ ,  $\pi\epsilon\nu\theta\epsilon\iota\omega$ ,  $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\delta}\kappa\epsilon\iota\omega$ , though it might probably be more desirable, as it is certainly possible, to regard  $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\omega\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma\omega$  as the participle of a desiderative form  $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\iota\omega\mu\alpha\tau$ , 'I am eager to fight'. The solitary example of  $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\omega\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma\omega$  may here be fitly quoted:—

$\rho$  471  $\acute{\delta}\pi\pi\acute{\rho}\tau'$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\eta}\rho$   $\pi\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$   $\o\iota\sigma\iota$   $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\omega\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma\omega$   $\kappa\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\pi\epsilon\sigma\sigma\pi$   
 $\beta\lambda\acute{\eta}\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha$   $\acute{\eta}$   $\pi\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$   $\beta\alpha\mu\pi\iota\pi\acute{\iota}$   $\acute{\eta}$   $\acute{\alpha}\pi\gamma\epsilon\iota\pi\pi\acute{\iota}$   $\acute{\delta}\iota\epsilon\sigma\pi\iota\pi$

Van Leeuwen and da Costa have, not without some violence, contrived to introduce this form into the two passages at present disfigured with  $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\omega\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma\omega$ , reading thus:—

$\acute{\eta}\acute{\epsilon}$   $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\omega\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma\iota$   $\pi\pi\acute{\delta}\lambda\iota\omega$   $\pi\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$   $\acute{\eta}\acute{\delta}\acute{\epsilon}$   $\gamma\mu\nu\alpha\kappa\hat{\omega}\nu$ .

In this proposed rehabilitation I fear I must decline to

accompany the ingenious authors. I confess I am not reconciled to the transposition of *περὶ πτόλιος* even by the superadded grace of hiatus licitus. It seems to me that *περὶ πτόλιος* is practically confirmed by the parallel:—

Σ 265 ἀλλὰ περὶ πτόλιος τε μαχήσεται ἡδὲ γυναικῶν.

Furthermore this line directly suggests what is in all probability the true reading in our two passages:—

ἡὲ περὶ πτόλιός τε μαχούμενοι ἡδὲ γυναικῶν.

I have adopted the form in *-ούμενος*, because the MS. above mentioned Cod. Vrat. reads it; but two MSS. of the highest quality, Flor. Laur. 52 and Harl. 5674, have *μαχεόμενον*, which should not be lightly dismissed, as the crasis of *-eo* is easy, and yet the neglect of it would be likely to lead to the scansion represented by the vulgate *μαχεούμενον*, certainly so after the removal of the little particle *τε*.

We may also acknowledge this crasis by writing *μαχεύμενοι* on the analogy of *πονεύμενον* (Δ 374) &c. &c., as indeed Bothe proposed to do, conjecturing *πτόλιός γε μαχεύμενον*: but while the insertion of *γε* is evidently entirely gratuitous and unwarrantable, *πτόλιός τε—ἡδὲ γυναικῶν* is quite as correct here as in Σ 265. Obviously the loss of *τε* is due primarily to the preceding *ἡὲ*, which very naturally, but most unfortunately, caused the following *ἡδὲ* to be changed to *ηὲ*, as indeed most MSS. have it written. After this depravation *τε* has no foot-hold, and the metre makes the abnormal *μαχεούμενον* a desperate necessity.

\*

λ 584 στεῦτο δὲ διψάων, πιέειν δ' οὐκ εἰχεν ἐλέσθαι.

This line belongs to the description of Tantalus in the lake, *έσταότ' ἐν λίμνῃ*. The word *στεῦτο* has been productive of much discussion. Hesychius tells us it means 'he stood', *ἴστατο*. On the other hand Aristarchus defined *στεῦτο* metaphorically, *κατὰ διάνοιαν διωρίζετο καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν ποδῶν στάσεως στάσιν γὰρ ψυχῆς σημαίνει η λέξις* (Aristonicus). There is also an intermediate view, of which we may take

Mer. Casaubon, whose words are frequently quoted with approbation, as the representative. He seems to think the sense is 'he struck an attitude', 'stood on tiptoe with his mouth open', 'hoc igitur vult poeta his verbis, eam fuisse Tantali seu in pedes erecti sive alio quocunque gestu, ut de pugilibus olim loqui soliti, προθολήν, ut ardentissimam sitim pree se ferret'. I regard this as an ingenious, but somewhat unsuccessful, attempt to amalgamate the conflicting opinions of Hesychius and Aristarchus. Why should a man raise himself (in pedes erecti) to reach water he is standing in? It rests with us to decide between Hesychius and Aristarchus, and usage must guide the decision. In spite of Ameis-Hentze's amusing 'gebarte sich als ein Durstender', 'he behaved as a thirsty man', it will never do to make Homer the *corpus vile* of this trimming eclecticism with whatever wealth of picturesque detail it may be adorned for our acceptance.

We find our verb in the following passages:—

B 597 στεῦτο γάρ εὐχόμενος νικησέμεν  
 Γ 83 στεῦται γάρ τι ἔπος ἐρέειν κορυθαίολος "Ἐκτωρ  
 Ε 832 δι πρώην μὲν ἐμοὶ τε καὶ "Ηρη στεῦτ' ἀγορεύων  
 Τρωσὶ μαχῆσεσθαι, ἀτάρ 'Αργείοισιν ἀρήξειν  
 Ι 241 στεῦται γὰρ ηῶν ἀποκόφειν ἄκρα κόρυμβα  
 Σ 191 στεῦτο γάρ 'Ηφαιστοιο πάρ' οἰσέμεν ἔντεα καλά.  
 Φ 455 στεῦτο δ' ὅ γ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀπολεφέμεν οὖατα χαλκῷ  
 ρ 525 στεῦται δ' 'Οδυσῆος ἀκοῦσαι  
 ἀγχοῦ

To be eager, enthusiastic, keen, sharp-set, to feel sure and to express this eager assurance, would satisfy the requirements of these passages, and Aristarchus, who derived his knowledge from a careful study of the text, is absolutely and entirely right. How does the employment of the verb in the present instance agree with the ordinary Homeric usage? There is one clear point of difference. Here *στεῦτο* stands by itself without any dependent infinitive, such as is found in all the other instances. We may be told this is a proof that the whole passage is a late accretion, as indeed it may be: but this peculiarity of usage must not, I think, be pressed into

service as evidence that it is so, and for this reason. If we look a little closer, we find *στεῦτο* without an infinitive; but in the immediate sequence *εἰχεν* crops up encumbered with two. Moreover the latter clause is hardly Homeric. Of course it is possible to translate it with Dr Merry, 'but he was not able to take anything to drink withal,' or with Messrs Butcher and Lang, 'but he might not attain to the water to drink of it'. But neither free colloquial modernism nor grace of antique phraseology can remove our misgivings. The objection is that an epexegetical infinitive, such as *πιέειν* is here, would hardly stand first in a genuine Homeric sentence; its regular position is last, e.g. A 8 *ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι*, &c. Would it not then be better here to give each verb its infinitive and leave no anomaly? The change is mainly one of punctuation. Only a slight verbal alteration would be necessary:—

*στεῦτο δὲ διψάων πιέειν, οὐ δὲ εἰχεν ἐλέσθαι.*

'He was eager in his thirst to drink, but was not able to reach the water'. The clause *στεῦτο δὲ διψάων πιέειν* exactly reproduces the construction of

E 832

*στεῦτ' ἀγορεύων  
Τρωσὶ μαχήσεσθαι.*

The only possible objection of any weight or importance would be that *πιέειν* should be the future, and certainly usage, as may be seen above, is in favour of that tense. At the same time the aoristic sense of *πιέειν* does not seem altogether out of place here, 'to get just one drink'. Those who believe the future indispensable may easily read *πιεσθ'* (*πιεσθαι*); for assuredly the later Greeks would have sacrificed *πιεσθ'* in favour of *πιέειν* without a qualm. An avoidable elision of *-ai* generally disappeared. Even in the line just mentioned:—

E 833 *Τρωσὶ μαχέστεσθαι, ἀτὰρ Ἀργείοισιν ἀρίξειν*

the original was probably enough:—

*Τρώεσσιν μαχέσεσθ', ἀτὰρ κτλ.*

and the same form of remedy is equally applicable to the very similar:—

E 483 ἀνδρὶ μαχήσασθαι· ἀτὰρ οὐ τί μοι ἐνθάδε τοῖον

Read:—

ἀνδρεστιν μαχέσασθ.

I will add two more examples in illustration:—

σ 39 χερσὶ μαχέσσασθαι· ἀλλὰ ξυνελάσσομεν ὡκα

Read:—

χείρεσσιν μαχέσασθ.

ν 112 ἀνδρες ἐσέρχονται, ἀλλ' ἀθανάτων ὄδος ἐστιν

Read:—

ἀνέρες εἰσέρχονται.

Nor is this peculiarity confined to the penthemimeral caesura.

I may adduce:—

N 356 \* \* \* ἀλεξέμεναι ἀλέεινεν for ἀλεξέμεν ἐξαλέεινεν.

ξ 91 μνᾶσθαι οὐδὲ νέεσθαι \* \* \* for μνάεσθ' οὐδέ. (So  
the Cambridge Homer 1892.)

B 590 τίσασθαι 'Ελένης \* \* \* for ἐκτίσασθ' 'Ελένης.

π 24 ὄψεσθαι ἐφάμην \* \* \* for εἰσόψεσθ' ἐφάμην.

See also note on Λ 758 with proposed restoration, Journ.  
Phil. xxiv. p. 282 f.

\*

μ 98 τῇ δ' οὐ πώ ποτε ναῦται ἀκήριοι εὐχετόωνται  
παρφυγέειν σὺν νηὶ.

ψ 328 Σκύλλην θ' ἦν οὐ πώ ποτ' ἀκήριοι ἀνδρες ἀλυξαν.

In these two quotations, both referring to the monster Scylla, we have the adjective *ἀκήριοι* used in the exceptional sense of 'unarmed', 'scatheless'. So at least we are told by the authorities, and it is patent that the ordinary meaning of *ἀκήριος*, 'with no heart for anything', 'dispirited', is precisely the most unsuitable idea that could be imported into either sentence. All the same this last is certainly the proper and distinctive sense of *ἀκήριος*, as the following passages bear witness:—

E 812 ἦ νύ σέ που δέος ἵσχει ἀκήριον.

817 οὐτε τί με δέος ἵσχει ἀκήριον οὐτε τις ὅκνος,

N 224 οὗτε τινὰ δέος ἵσχει ἀκήριον,  
 H 100 ἡμενοι ἀνθι ἔκαστοι ἀκήριοι, ἀκλεεὸς αὐτῶς·  
 Λ 392 ὁξὺ βέλος πέλεται, καὶ ἀκήριον αἴγα τίθησι.  
 Φ 466 ἄλλοτε δὲ φθινύθουσιν ἀκήριοι.

While it is clear enough that *ἀκήριος*, 'spiritless' or even 'lifeless', as in the last instance but one, and possibly in the last, is formed from *κῆρ* 'heart', the prevalent theory with regard to *ἀκήριος* in the supposed abnormal sense of 'uninjured', 'unhurt', is that it comes from *κήρ*. This I hold to be a manifest error. There is nothing whatever to justify the belief that *κήρ* has any other meaning in Homer than 'fate', and in a more definite and limited sense, 'death'. In saying this I am not forgetful of Ω 82, where *πῆμα* is a variant, but by no means indispensable either in form or sense. Consequently *ἀκήριος*, assuming the possibility of the duplicate, could never have meant for Homer merely 'uninjured', as has been quietly taken for granted. I believe I am fully justified in saying that this word in the two passages is nothing but a careless and ignorant corruption or rather confusion, such as the later Greeks, the uncritical custodians of the Homeric poems, so often allowed to pass unchallenged. Read in both cases:—

ἀκήρατοι

a word that still happily survives in the following places:—

Ο 497 ἀλλ' ἄλοχός τε σόνι καὶ παῖδες ὅπισσω,  
καὶ οἶκος καὶ κλῆρος ἀκήρατος  
ρ 532 αὐτῶν μὲν γὰρ κτήματ' ἀκήρατα κεῖτ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ  
Ω 303 χερσὶν ὑδωρ ἐπιχεῦναι ἀκήρατον

We have in our texts Hym. Herm. 530 ἀκήριον ἢ σε φυλάξει, but the great majority of the MSS. the Fam. Par. have ἀκήραον, which is quite as near the genuine ἀκήρατον, as it is to the present vulgate.

This adjective is apparently connected with the Aeschylean verb *κηράινω*, 'to injure' (Eum. 128, Supp. 999). To refer it to *κεράννυμι*, as some do for Ω 303, is on the face of it impossible. Even *ἀκηράσιον (οἶνον)* in *τ* 205 is clearly nothing but 'undamaged', 'sound' wine. The whole description is a

protest against the usual translation, 'unmingled', 'undiluted'. Of course it was 'unwatered'. But no one intent on setting forth the unrivalled potency of a wine would begin with such a superfluous statement.

\*

μ 113 εἰ πως τὴν ὄλοην μὲν ὑπεκπροφύγοιμι Χάρυβδιν,  
τὴν δέ κ' ἀμυναίμην, ὅτε μοι σίνοιτό γ' ἑταίρους.

No argument or array of passages is needed to show that *τὴν ὄλοην* is not primitive, cf. Journ. Phil. xxv. pp. 141 ff. The original form of the clause is fortunately discernible enough from the words immediately following. That we should have two verbs after *εἰ πως*, the former, *ὑπεκπροφύγοιμι*, without *κε* and the latter *ἀμυναίμην* with *κε*, is not only irrational in itself, but in Homer lacks the thread of support from little eccentricities of usage which later Greek might furnish. Now if *κε* had been found with *ὑπεκπροφύγοιμι*, we might undoubtedly have been satisfied to supply it in thought to *ἀμυναίμην*; but not reversely. We may surely restore without much fear of error:—

εἰ κέν πως ὄλοην μὲν ὑπεκπροφύγοιμι Χάρυβδιν.

There is indeed one other passage in which the obnoxious combination *τὴν ὄλοην* reappears:—

μ 428 ὅφρ' ἔτι τὴν ὄλοην ἀναμετρήσαιμι Χάρυβδιν.

In this case there is nothing to show what *τὴν* has superseded. Still it would be little below the height of foolishness to argue that an emendation visibly indicated in one passage should be set aside and refused admission, because the same fault in another place cannot be removed with similar assurance of correctness. Duly recognising however the inevitable lack of cogent force to drive home the suggestion, we may nevertheless find a possible remedy by borrowing *πως* from our passage, μ 113:—

ὅφρ' ἔτι πως ὄλοην.

Other solutions may however be devised such as *ὅφρ' ἔτι ἐγώ γ' ὄλοην*, &c.

It would scarcely be right to pass over unnoticed the fact that, while *ai* (ει) *κέν πως* (ἢν πως) with subjunctive and *ει πως* with optative occur with tolerable frequency, there is no extant example of *ει κέν πως* with the optative save this *ει πως*—κ' ἀμυναίμην, which is somewhat hidden from view by the intervening words. Obviously however the presence of *πως* makes no material difference, and the case is the same as that of *ει κεν* with optative, which must be recognised as Homeric, though scholars have been tempted to suggest in some instances that *γε* should be read in place of *κε*, v. Monro, H. G. § 313. We find *ει πως* with optative N 807, Η 163, P 104, T 464, X 196, δ 388, ι 317, κ 147, χ 91. With the exception above named no instance of *ει κέν πως* with this mood has come down to us in the text of Homer, but there is one passage from which an original *κεν* has almost certainly been ejected:—

ξ 460 ει πως οι ἐκδὺς χλαῖναν πόροι.

The metre urgently requires and the sense readily admits the restoration:—

ει κέν πως Ε' ἐκδὺς χλαῖναν πόροι.

Compare also ξ 118, Α 792.

On μ 114 it is worth remark that *σίνοιτό γ'*—there is no room for any special emphasis on the verb here—exhibits a peculiar and perilous use of *γε*. It is little more than a mere metrical stop-gap. Save for the rule of modal attraction, which is not always operative, cf. γ 320, the subjunctive would be regular. I suggest then that *ὅτε μοι σίνηται* was the original. May not the optative with its weak appendage be the outcome of a laudable but disastrous feeling, that Homer ought not to be allowed to lack any of the elegancies of expression in vogue from time to time, especially one which could be foisted in by the addition of such an unconsidered trifle as *γε*?

$\mu$  177  $\epsilon\xi\epsilon\iota\eta\varsigma$  δ' ἐτάροισιν ἐπ' οὐατα πᾶσιν ἀλειψα.

One good MS., Venetus Marciānus 647, has οῦασι here, which would bring the construction into harmony with:—

$\mu$  200  $\delta\nu$  σφιν ἐπ' ὥστιν ἀλειψ', ἐμέ τ' ἐκ δεσμῶν ἀνέλυσαν.

where Knight proposed οῦασ', leaving the grammar unaltered. There remains however one other example of ἐπαλείψω, which must be taken into account:—

$\mu$  47 ἀλλὰ παρεξελάαν, ἐπὶ δ' οὐατ' ἀλειψαι ἐταίρων κηρὸν δεψήσας μελιηδέα.

This question of the grammatical construction is well worth consideration. The dictum in Ameis-Hentze that  $\epsilon\pi\iota$  is a preposition in  $\mu$  200, but belongs to the verb in the other two passages, affords no relief whatever, as I shall show. Indeed the converse statement would perhaps be more difficult to disprove.

Now the simple verb  $\alpha\lambdaείψω$  is fairly common and its construction undisputed:—

$\Sigma$  350 λόεσάν τε καὶ ἥλειψαν λίπ' ἐλαίφ.

$\Xi$  175 τῷ ρ' ἥ γε χρόα καλὸν ἀλειψαμένη,

but the compound verb  $\epsilon\pi\alpha\lambdaείψω$ , just like  $\pi\sigma\alpha\lambdaείψω$ , which appears:—

$\kappa$  392  $\epsilon\rho\chiομένη$   $\pi\sigma\alpha\lambdaειφε$  ἐκάστῳ φάρμακον ἀλλο,  
would naturally and necessarily take, as in  $\mu$  200, an accusative of the unguent or material employed and a dative of that to which it is applied. We may compare the similar difference existing between the use of  $\beta\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega$ :—

$H$  266 τῷ βάλεν Λιαντος δεινὸν σάκος

and of  $\epsilon\pi\iota\beta\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega$ :—

$\delta$  440 βάλεν δ' ἐπὶ δέρμα ἐκάστῳ.

The addition of  $\nu\omega\tauοισι$  to this last would make the parallel with  $\mu$  200 absolutely complete. But the case in favour of the construction given in  $\mu$  200 and against that in  $\mu$  177 is even stronger than this. It is backed by the analogous usage of a host of verbs compounded with  $\epsilon\pi\iota$ , e.g.  $\epsilon\pi\iota\iota\thetaημι$ ,

ἐφίημι, ἐπάγω, ἐπιπάσσω, ἐπιτανύω, ἐπιχέω. Examples need hardly be adduced here. They are accessible to everybody.

There are, I believe, only two apparent exceptions:—

Ω 351 δὴ γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας ἥλυθε γαῖαν.

ε 175 τὸ δ' οὐδὲ ἐπὶ νῆσος ἐσται  
ἀκύποροι περόσωσιν,

τό in the last instance refers to *μέγα λαῖτμα θαλάσσης*. No one will pretend that these two afford the least countenance to the construction in μ 177. In them the accusatives follow intransitive verbs of motion and denote a large and extended space, such an extension as cannot possibly be compared to that belonging to the ears of the men of Odysseus, even though uncharitably and unwarrantably we should endow them one and all with the 'large fair ears' of the 'translated' Bully Bottom himself.

It appears then that G. Curtius' *οὐατ'* (*οὐατα*) for the vulgate *ώσιν* in l. 200 is a step in the wrong direction, welcomed though it has been by Hinrichs, Cauer and the Leyden editors, van Leeuwen and da Costa, who refrain however from following Curtius in changing *ὅν* to *ῷ*. Much more worthy of acceptance is Knight's *οὐασ'*, approved by Nauck and Kirchhoff.

It follows also that in μ 177 *οὐατα* cannot be right, though it is not necessary to extend the condemnation to *οὐατ'* in μ 47; for obviously *οὐατ'* may stand in Homer for *οὐατι* just as easily as for *οὐατα*, although the later Greeks did not like to make the acknowledgement. Hence I would read:—

μ 177 ἔξειης δ' ἐτάροισιν ἐπ' οὐατι πᾶσιν ἄλειψα.

The change is of the slightest. Even in μ 200 the same form *οὐατ'* (*οὐατι*) may be correct, as *ώσιν* is obviously a modernisation.

The use of the singular *οὐατι* in these passages does not constitute a difficulty, although it may have helped to bring about the received debasements, precisely as in τ 539, where our received text runs:—

πᾶσι κατ' αὐχένας ἥξε

though every scholar knows that the original must have been:—

*πᾶσι κατ' αὐχέν' ἔαξε*

*αὐχέν' ἔηξεν* [ἔαξε cod. V] Herodian. This passage is additionally interesting, because it exhibits the very *πᾶσι*(ν) of μ 177. But this use of the singular in a distributive sense is fairly frequent in Homer, cf. μ 332 = δ 369 *ἔτειρε δὲ γαστέρα λιμός.* δ 300 *δάος μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσαι.* v. Monro, H. G. § 170 for other examples.

\*

μ 185 *νῆα κατάστησον, ἵνα νωιτέρην ὅπ' ἀκούσῃς.*

An undoubted metrical improvement could be secured in this line by transposing *ἵνα* and *ὅπα*:—

*νῆα κατάστησον, ὅπα νωιτέρην ἵν' ἀκούσῃς.*

It is true the next line but one ends with *ὅπ' ἀκούσαι*, but this is quite as much in favour of, as against, the suggested arrangement. The position assigned to the conjunction giving emphasis to the noun and adjective may be supported not only by the well-known instances of single words so emphasised

Α 32 ἀλλ' ἵθι μή μ' ἐρέθιζε, σαώτερος ὡς κε οἴηαι  
ν 47 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ θεός εἰμι, διαμπερὲς ή σε φυλάσσω

μ 140, 331, τ 15, Hym. Herm. 530,

but by:—

μ 49                    *ἀτὰρ αὐτὸς ἀκούεμεν αἴ κ' ἐθέλησθα*  
Ε 27                    *Τρῶες δὲ μεγάθυμοι ἐπεὶ ἵδον νῦν Δάρητος—*  
                          *πᾶσιν ὀρίνθη θυμός.*

Ζ 474 *αὐτὰρ δ' γ' δὸν φίλον νιὸν ἐπεὶ κύσε πῆλέ τε χερσὶν,*  
                          *εἰπε δ' ἐπενξάμενος Διί τ' ἄλλοισιν τε θεοῖσιν*

So in the next passage:—

Α 566 *μή νύ τοι οὐ χραίσμασιν, ὅσοι θεοί εἰσ' ἐν Ὄλύμπῳ,*  
                          *ἀσσον ἵλν ὅτε κέν τοι ἀάπτους χεῖρας ἐφείω.*

(Bentley.)

*λών* is probably after all the true reading, for *λόνθ'* the traditional form savours very strongly of an attempt to connect the two words by hook or by crook with the preceding verb *χραίσμωσιν*. There was no unanimity even among the ancient Homeric scholars as to what this *λόνθ'* represented. Zenodotus took it for *λόντε*: Aristarchus for *λόντι*. Modern editors are pretty unanimous in condemning both, and deciding in favour of *λόντα*, though many look with longing eyes on Bentley's conjecture and lament the fact that no MS. gives the reading.

The principle of this postponement of the conjunction is quite analogous to the case of the enclitic personal pronoun, noticed and defended on *a* 37 (Journ. Phil. XXVI. p. 114 f.).

In the last line of this song of the Sirens ( $\mu$  191)

*ἴδμεν δ' ὅσσα γένηται ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ.*

I would suggest the slight change of *ὅσσα* into *ἄσσα* as a desirable grammatical amelioration, cf. A 554

*ἄλλα μάλ' εὐκηλος τὰ φράξεαι ἄσσ' ἐθέλησθα*

There seems indeed to be no other instance of *ὅσσος* with the *pure* subjunctive.

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$\mu$  199 *αἰψ'* ἀπὸ κηρὸν ἔλοντο ἐμοὶ ἐρίηρες ἔταιροι,  
397 =  $\xi$  249 *έξημαρ* μὲν ἔπειτα ἐμοὶ ἐρίηρες ἔταιροι  
δαίνυντ̄.

$\iota$  172 *ἄλλοι* μὲν νῦν μίμνετ̄, ἐμοὶ ἐρίηρες ἔταιροι.  
554 *ἄλλ'* ὁ γε μερμήριζεν ὅπως ἀπολοίατο πᾶσαι  
νῆσες ἐύστελμοι καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐρίηρες ἔταιροι.

$\Psi$  6 *Μυρμίδονες ταχύπωλοι*, ἐμοὶ ἐρίηρες ἔταιροι,

The above lines exhibit all the instances in the Homeric poems of the expression, *ἐμοὶ ἐρίηρες ἔταιροι*, and deserve a close consideration. The formula stands twice as a vocative of address,  $\iota$  172,  $\Psi$  6, and in these two instances the use of the emphatic possessive pronoun seems natural. In the remaining four cases it is certainly somewhat forced. It would be just as erroneous to attribute the pronoun in  $\mu$  199,  $\iota$  555 to

affectionate regard, as it would to look upon it in  $\mu$  397,  $\xi$  249 as a touch of sarcastic irony.

In the next place the metre calls for remark. It is a very peculiar feature in these verses that we have a long open diphthong in the fourth foot maintaining its original quantity before a word beginning with a vowel, nor does it avail to defend this hiatus by supposing that *έρινηρος* originally possessed an initial digamma. The supposition is not only at variance with other examples of this prefix *έρι-*, e.g. *έριανχην* (K 305), *έριβωλος* (Φ 232), *έριγδουπος* (Η 411), *έρικυδής* (Ω 802), *έρισθενής* (Ν 54), *έριστάφυλος* (ι 111), *έρίτιμος* (Β 447), but meets contradiction in the usage of the adjective itself. We find Γ 378 *κόμισαν δέ έρινηρες ἔταιροι*, Π 363 *σάω δέ έρινηρας ἔταιρος*. Nor again is the doctrine of hiatus licitus a disturbing element here, although it is supposed to protect the example before *έμοι* in the two first quoted lines. It does not however form an essential part of my case to take exception to that at present.

On these grounds then, the hiatus after *έμοι* and the needless emphasis of that pronoun, I am disposed to question the genuineness of this expression and to regard it as a simplification of an older formula. Such a formula I find in the subscribed passages:—

Α 566 μή νύ τοι οὐ χραίσμωσιν, ὅσοι θεοί εἰσ' ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ,  
Ε 877 ἄλλοι μὲν γὰρ πάντες, ὅσοι θεοί εἰσ' ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ,  
Θ 451 οὐκ ἀν με τρέψειαν, ὅσοι θεοί εἰσ' ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ.  
Π 98 μήτε τις οὖν Τρώων θάνατον φύγοι, ὅσσοι ἔστι.

In many instances the substantive verb is unexpressed:—

Μ 13 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ μὲν Τρώων θάνον, ὅσσοι ἄριστοι,  
γ 108 ἐνθα δέ ἐπειτα κατέκταθεν, ὅσσοι ἄριστοι. Λ 691.  
ζ 257 πάντων Φαιήκων εἰδησέμεν ὅσσοι ἄριστοι.  
Ι 55 οὐ τις τοι τὸν μῦθον ὄνόσσεται, ὅσσοι Ἀχαιοί, 642.  
θ 214 πάντα γὰρ οὐ κακός εἴμι, μετ' ἀνδράσιν ὅσσοι ἀεθλοί.  
Φ 428 τοιοῦτοι νῦν πάντες, οἵσοι Τρώεσσιν ἀρωγοί,  
Θ 205 εἴ περ γάρ κ' ἐθέλοιμεν, ὅσοι Δαναοῖσιν ἀρωγοί,

More examples might be quoted, if necessary. There is one

however which shows this use of *ὅσοι* in combination with a vocative and so possesses a distinct feature of interest in this connection:—

*β 209 Εὐρύμαχ'* ἡδὲ καὶ ἄλλοι, *ὅσοι μηστῆρες ἀγανοῦ*,

But then it may be said, why should this familiar idiom have been preserved in the passages just quoted, while all trace of it seems to be lost in those at the head of this section? The question is a fair one, and the answer is easy. There is nothing in the idiom in any wise offensive or incomprehensible to the linguistic feeling of the later Greeks. It has perhaps a flavour of antiquity and is not of such common occurrence in classical Attic: yet we may find a practical exemplification of it in Aristoph. *Wasps*, l. 400:—

*οὐ ξυλλήψεσθ', ὅπόσοισι δίκαι τῆτες μέλλοντιν ἔσεσθαι;*

But in the particular cases under discussion there happened to be a serious complication, indicated and revealed to us by the presence of the possessive pronoun, which, as has been remarked, is in four cases out of six not quite natural. The original expression contained, there is reason to believe, an elided unemphatic dative of the personal pronoun, *ἔγώ*, which gives a perfectly suitable sense in every case.

It was this unfortunate elision, this partial obliteration of *μοι*, unwelcome to the eyes, and unfamiliar to the ears, of the later Greeks, that led to the dropping of *ὅσοι* from these lines, which I would thus restore:—

*μ 199 αἰψ' ἀπὸ κηρὸν ἔλονθ', ὅσσοι μ' ἐρίηρες ἔταιροι,*

*397 = ξ 249 ἔξημαρ μὲν ἔπειθ', ὅσσοι μ' ἐρίηρες ἔταιροι,  
δαίνυνθ'.*

*ι 172 ἄλλοι μὲν νῦν μίμνεθ', ὅσοι μ' ἐρίηρες ἔταιροι.*

Compare the combination of *ἄλλοι* with *πάντες* ξ 462, ο 307.

*ι 555 ἀλλ' ο γε μερμήριζεν ὅπως ἀπολοίατο πᾶσαι  
νῆες ἐύσσελμοι καὶ ὅσοι μ' ἐρίηρες ἔταιροι.*

Here *ὅσοι*—*ἔταιροι* forms a fitting balance to the preceding *πᾶσαι νῆες*.

*Ψ 6 Μυρμίδονες ταχύπτωλοι, ὅσοι μ' ἐρίηρες ἔταιροι,*

which approximates along with  $\iota$  172 very closely to the above quoted  $\beta$  209.

It is well-known that this elision of  $\muoi$  ( $\tauoi$ ,  $\sigmaoi$ ) has been only very partially preserved in our traditional text: that of  $\tauoi$  has disappeared altogether. Many restorations of each have been suggested, of which some may unhesitatingly be accepted as certain and irrefragable. Therefore in introducing it here I waive any general discussion of its admissibility, cf. *Journ. Phil.* xxv. 308 f. and xxvi. 113 f.

That the enclitic is far more suitable than the possessive pronoun to the passages as a whole is surely beyond all shadow of doubt. Let me recall:—

$\alpha$  336  $\alpha\nu\tau'$  ἐγὼ οὐτε τις ἄλλος ἔταιρων,  $\alpha\ell'$   $\muoi$  ἔαστιν. Cf.  $\mu$  114. H 295  $\sigmao\dot{\nu}$  τε μάλιστα ἔτας καὶ ἔταιρους,  $\alpha\ell'$   $\tauoi$  ἔαστιν.

As I have more than once had occasion to remark, the earliest writing in all probability did not remove elided letters. They appeared, as in Latin, written at length. Hence  $\ddot{\sigma}o\dot{\iota}o\dot{\iota}$   $\muoi$ , which seems too long for an iambus, as it appears visibly impossible to retain the whole, may have been considered most fairly and easily treated by substituting the convenient and apparently equivalent possessive  $\dot{\epsilon}moi$ , with detriment to the metre of course; but that is of the nature of almost every modernisation that can be detected in the Homeric text.

I take it as a further slight point in favour of this correction that with it the elimination of the hiatus licitus in  $\mu$  199, 397,  $\xi$  249 becomes so easy a matter. I have not hesitated to remove it, but of course devotees may preserve it intact, if the loss would be in any degree painful to endure. The formula may also be applied to  $\tau$  273  $\dot{\alpha}\tau\dot{\alpha}\rho$   $\dot{\epsilon}r\dot{\iota}\eta\rho\alpha\dot{s}$   $\dot{\epsilon}t\dot{\alpha}\dot{\iota}\rho\dot{\nu}\dot{\omega}\dot{s}$  |  $\ddot{\omega}\lambda\epsilon\sigma\epsilon$  thus  $\ddot{\sigma}o\dot{\iota}$  δ'  $\dot{\epsilon}r\dot{\iota}\eta\rho\epsilon$   $\dot{\epsilon}t\dot{\alpha}\dot{\iota}\rho\dot{\nu}$ , |  $\ddot{\omega}\lambda\epsilon\sigma\epsilon$ . The lengthening of  $-ap$  is not defensible.

After all I am quite conscious that to many the above emendation may seem too considerable a departure from the tradition; but this much may be said in defence. It is no haphazard re-writing from unfounded conjecture, but rests upon a careful examination of the ascertained usages of Homer. These usages have been here set forth for the consideration of

all, that of  $\delta\sigma\sigma\iota$  in almost full detail: only with regard to the elision of  $\mu\omega\iota$  is the case presented with undue brevity, as a full exposition would require at least as many pages as the whole of the present paper.

\*

$\mu$  423  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\tau\acute{o}\nu\sigma\beta\acute{e}\beta\lambda\eta\theta\tau\beta\acute{o}\delta\acute{\iota}\acute{\rho}\iota\nu\acute{o}\iota\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\chi\acute{\omega}\acute{\sigma}$ .

In the use of  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\chi\acute{\omega}\acute{\sigma}$  as passive in sense and equivalent to  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\mu}\acute{\epsilon}\nu\sigma$  we have a grammatical solecism, which only, or perhaps not even, the direst necessity should induce us to accept and condone. Of course there is first of all the surgical remedy, the excision of a large passage as unworthy of Homer. The removal of a small one would be of no avail, is indeed quite impracticable. Kammer accordingly condemns 420—448. If however we acquiesce in the genuineness of the line, as is only reasonable, until we are convinced that it is part and parcel of a spurious addition, we are under some obligation to account in a fairly natural manner for any abnormal feature it exhibits. In any case if we can do this successfully, we remove one of the supports on which the adverse opinion rests. Van Herwerden has suggested as a possible original the ending:—

$\beta\acute{o}\delta\acute{\iota}\acute{\rho}\iota\nu\acute{o}\iota\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\chi\acute{\omega}\acute{\sigma}$ ,

and again the line is quoted by Athenaeus (xiv. 632) in this form:—

$\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\tau\acute{o}\nu\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\nu\sigma\tau\beta\acute{o}\delta\acute{\iota}\acute{\rho}\iota\nu\acute{o}\iota\kappa\tau\acute{\mu}\acute{\epsilon}\nu\sigma\acute{\iota}\acute{\omega}$ .

There is however one obvious objection against putting faith in either of these solutions. How could the vulgate possibly have arisen from any such originals? By what conceivable course of development or disintegration? It has also been suggested that  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\chi\acute{\omega}\acute{\sigma}$  should be referred to  $\tau\acute{\nu}\gamma\acute{\chi}\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ , and not to  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\nu\chi\acute{\omega}$  at all, a curiously lame evasion of the difficulty.

I am emboldened to present an idea which seems at any rate better fitted to account for the rise of the traditional text. My supposition is that originally the line stood thus:—

$\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\tau\acute{o}\nu\sigma\beta\acute{e}\beta\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\iota}\acute{\sigma}$ ,  $\delta\beta\acute{o}\delta\acute{\iota}\acute{\rho}\iota\nu\acute{o}\iota\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\chi\acute{\omega}\acute{\sigma}$ .

It is not very far-fetched to assume that  $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\beta\lambda\eta\theta'$  ὅ or  $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\beta\lambda\eta\tau\circ$  ὅ (written ἐκ πλήρους) might be taken for  $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\beta\lambda\eta\tau\circ$ , especially as the later Greeks would not be over ready to recognise any form of the masculine relative pronoun save ὅ. Once let  $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\beta\lambda\eta\tau\circ$  stand alone without ὅ, and the necessity of altering  $\tau\acute{e}tuk\tau\circ$  becomes absolute. In this place the regular and frequently occurring  $\tau\acute{e}tuvym\acute{e}n\circs$  could not be accommodated. There was therefore no resource except crediting Homer with  $\tau\acute{e}teu\chi\acute{w}\circs$ , of which, I venture to say, he was never guilty. No doubt the Homeric text, as we have received it, contains other absurdities equal in grossness to this particular specimen, and it is, I fear, considered scientific to let one corruption prop up another. The old saying, 'two blacks do not make one white', no longer holds good: for it seems quite legitimate to argue that, when two blacks are placed side by side, both become immaculate. I will make no further comment on the general futility of this proceeding, but will forestall the production of one concrete instance of an exactly similar misuse of a perf. part. act. If we turn to one of the later books of the *Odyssey*, we may read, I think in every text:—

*ρ 519 ἀείδῃ δεδαώς ἐπε' ἵμερόεντα βροτοῖσι.*

I may just note in passing that for *ἀείδῃ* some editors have the ill-supported variant, *ἀείδει*; but the special feature, to which I call attention here, is the participle *δεδαώς* usually very tenderly treated as a genuine Homeric vagary for *δεδαημένως*. It is assuredly nothing of the kind. It is a mere blunder. Let us restore the older form of the 3rd sing. subj., and give back to Homer the long-lost but true reading:—

*ἀείδησι δαεὶς ἐπε' ἵμερόεντα βροτοῖσι.*

There will then be no need to apologise for the grammar, and any one can appreciate the facility, with which  $\text{CI}\Delta\text{AEIC}$  might be misread into  $\Delta\text{E}\Delta\text{AO}$ .

T. L. AGAR.

## ALBA LONGA.

IT is a sign of the uncertainty which surrounds the earlier period of the existence of Rome that the site of Alba Longa, the oldest and most eminent city of the Latin league, whose meetings were held under its presidency, and the metropolis, according to tradition, of Rome itself, should still be a subject of discussion.

There is, fortunately, no room for doubt that Alba Longa actually existed. The Latin league, over which we find Rome presiding as its successor, the worships which continued to be carried on after its destruction<sup>1</sup> and which subsisted during the whole period of Roman history, the name which clung to the lake, the mountain, and the surrounding country, all bear testimony which cannot be shaken—even if we take no account of the unanimous tradition of the foundation of Alba, the colonization of Rome, and the destruction of the metropolis by the colony.

We may proceed, then, to examine the information given us by the ancient authors<sup>2</sup>. Alba Longa is naturally very frequently mentioned; and we are told<sup>3</sup> that it was named Longa from the shape of its ground-plan, so that we have to imagine it as consisting of one long street. The meaning of the name Alba is not so certain. Varro *l. c.* refers it to the white sow which Aeneas saw, others to the colour of the houses, or of the rocks on which the city stood (Gell, *Environs of Rome* p. 16). Precise local indications are, however, conspicuous by

<sup>1</sup> CIL. xiv p. 231, Cie. *Pro Mil.* xxxi § 85, Livy i 31.

<sup>2</sup> Livy i 3 “ab situ porrectae in dorso urbis Longa Alba appellata,” cf. Varro *L. L.* v § 144, Dionys. i 66 etc.

<sup>3</sup> The passages are collected by Cluver, *Italia Antiqua* p. 900 sqq.

their absence. Strabo v 3 § 2 p. 229 speaks of it as "Αλβα ἐν τῷ Ἀλβάνῳ ὅρει διέχοντι τῆς Ρώμης τοσοῦτον ὅσον καὶ ἡ Ἀρδέα (i.e. 160 stadia: compare Statius, Silvae v 3, 38 "Latiiis ingessit montibus Albam"); Livy, as "sub Albano monte"; but, as Holstenius (ad Cluverium p. 901 lin. ult.) points out, "Nulla prorsus inter auctores dissentio. Nam Livius intelligit totum illud montis iugum editissimum, quod vulgo Monte Cavo dicitur. Caeteri auctores intelligunt pedem seu tractum inferiorem montis, in cuius dorso porrecto Alba condita fuit."

The only author who gives more detailed information as to the site is Dionysius I 66, ἡνίκα δ' ὥκιζετο (ἡ "Αλβα), πρὸς ὅρει καὶ λίμνη κατεσκευάσθη τὸ μέσον ἐπέχουσα ἀμφοῖν, καὶ ἡν ὀσπέρ τείχη τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα δυσάλωτον αὐτὴν ποιοῦντα. τό τε γὰρ ὅρος ἐν τοῖς πάνυ ὄχυρόν τε καὶ ὑψηλόν ἔστιν ἡ τε λίμνη βαθεῖα καὶ μεγάλη... ὑπόκειται δὲ τῇ πόλει πεδία θαυμαστὰ ἴδειν.

According to this passage the site of Alba Longa must be sought between the Alban mount (Monte Cavo) and the Alban lake: and here it has been placed by most topographers, at or near Palazzuolo. It will be seen however later that there are strong reasons against this identification: but it will be more convenient to examine first another theory.

### (1) *Albano.*

The view that the modern Albano occupies the site of the ancient Alba Longa was almost universally held till the time of Cluver (1624). It makes its first appearance, as Cluver (p. 901 l. 47) points out, in Eutropius lib. 1 "Albanos vicit (Tullus Hostilius) qui ab urbe XII milliario sunt." Socrates, Hist. Eccl. II 29, Sozomenus Hist. Eccl. III 8, name a certain Dionysius as ὁ "Αλβας τῶν Ἰταλῶν μητροπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος; but the reference is probably to Alba Pompeia in Liguria (Holstenius ad Cluverium p. 914 l. 34; Nibby, Analisi I 80). We find it held by the topographers of the 15th and 16th centuries, such as Flavio Biondo, Italia Illustrata p. 319 (in the Bâle edition of 1531) and Raphael Volaterranus p. 166: compare Cluver p. 901 l. 52. "Hodie ipsi Albani opidi (sic) incolae

adeo certe persuasum habent, ut etiam supra portam, quae Romam versus emittit, lapidem imponi curaverint, cui sus illa cum xxx porcellis incisa."

The view is however based upon the misinterpretation of various passages, many of which<sup>1</sup> refer to Alba Fuentia, while in the rest the name Alba is used loosely.

For example Plutarch, Iul. Caesar 60, says *καταβαίνοντα ἐξ Ἀλβης (Καλσαρα) εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐτόλμησαν αὐτὸν ἀσπάσασθαι βασιλέα.* Suetonius however (Iul. 79) in relating the same incident shows that Caesar was returning from the celebration of the feriae Latinae upon the Alban mount. A similar lax use of the name Alba is to be found in Lucan I 198 "et residens celsa Latiaris Jupiter Alba"; Val. Flacc. Argon. II 304 "Iam nemus Egeriae, iam te ciet altus ab Alba Jupiter, et soli non mitis Aricia regi"; Tibullus 1, 7, 57, "Nec taceant monumenta viae, quem Tuscula tellus candidaque antiquo detinet Alba lare".

Similarly Suet. Nero 25 "Neapolim albis equis introiit, disiecta parte muri; simili modo Antium, inde Albanum, inde Romam," is not to be taken to mean that a city called Albanum and having walls existed at this time. There is in fact no doubt that after the destruction of Alba Longa by the Romans no city took its place until comparatively late times<sup>2</sup>. Livy, VII 39 §§ 8, 16; Appian, Bellum Civile I 69, both make it clear that there was no city upon the Via Appia between Aricia and Rome, with the exception of Bovillae, which was quite insignificant (cf. Cic. Planc. 9 § 23), until under the Empire it became important as the site of the sacrarium gentis Iuliae. Pliny, III 5 § 63, gives Alba Longa as one of the cities of ancient Latium, and (ib. § 69) mentions the Albani as one of the 53 peoples "qui interiere sine vestigiis."

<sup>1</sup> Livy xxx 17, 45 etc.

<sup>2</sup> The reference in the last passage is to a road constructed by Messala Corvinus, connecting the Via Appia with the Latina, Labicana and Praenestina, and which, under the name of Via Cavona, is still in use (Lanciani

Bull. Comm. 1884 p. 195).

<sup>3</sup> Orosius v 22 mentions the' siege by the adherents of Sulla of 'Albanorum civitas,' but this is generally taken to refer to Alba Fuentia, of which the correct adjectival form is Albensis.

It was only in the time of Constantine that a city arose upon the site now occupied by Albano. During the last century of the Republic and the first three centuries of the Empire the name Albanum signified a villa in the Alban territory. The earliest record we have of such an estate is that of M. Junius Brutus (about 153 B.C.: Cic. Pro Cluent. 51 § 141, De Or. II 55 § 224): compare Poreius apud Suet. apud Hieronym. (ed. Teubner stereotyp. 1893 p. 292 l. 19) "Dum se amari ab his credit... (P. Terentius Afer) crebro in Albanum rapitur ob florem aetatis suaे."

In the later days of the Republic we hear of Pompey, Clodius, Curio and others as owners of villas in this district, and the name Albanum becomes stereotyped. Under the Empire all these villas passed into the imperial domain, and, with the new palace built by Domitian upon the edge of the Alban lake, formed a single estate (cf. Bull. Inst. 1853 p. 3, Ann. Inst. 1854 p. 98, CIL. vol. XIV p. 216). Müller, Roms Kampagna II 90, extends the villa of Domitian as far as Monte Gentile to the S. of Palazzuolo, between the lakes of Albano and Nemi, where remains of a villa exist (see Martial v 1, 1, "Palladiae seu collibus uteris Albae, Caesar, et hinc Triviam prospicis, inde Thetin," where "Triviam" would refer to the lake of Nemi, the speculum Dianaæ). In any case, it is certain that the Alban lake was regarded as a part of the imperial estate, and Domitian constructed a road all round it, considerable remains of which may still be seen at the edge of the lake, with landing stages for boats at intervals.

Connected with the selection of the Alban villa as an imperial residence was the foundation of the camp at Albano. The first legion known to have been quartered there is the legio II Parthica, which was founded by Septimius Severus, and the necropolis of which was discovered in 1867 on the S.E. slope of the hill now occupied by the monastery of the Capucini (cf. Ann. Inst. 1867 p. 73; CIL. VI 3367 sqq., XIV p. 217; Bull. Comm. Arch. 1896 p. 121). The camp was, however, probably constructed before the legio II Parthica occupied it: for the imperial residence would in all probability

have been guarded by troops<sup>1</sup>, and we have two inscriptions CIL. XIV 2286, 2287 of equites singulares found at Albano, who were probably here on duty as part of the body guard. The style of construction of the enclosure wall of the camp, too, in opus quadratum of peperino, is hardly that of the time of Septimius Severus<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, the extensive thermae existing on the S.W. side of the Via Appia belong probably to the time of Domitian (Nibby 1 91; CIL. XIV 2306, 2311), and from their position seem to be connected rather with the camp than with the imperial villa—though the assertion of the inhabitants of Albano that a subterranean passage under the Via Appia connected the camp with the thermae, which Rosa was unable to verify, may not be of great value (Bull. Inst. 1853 p. 8). The camp is, however, not to be assigned to a period earlier than that of the Flavian emperors: see Tac. Hist. IV 2 “civitas pavida et servitio parata occupari redeuntem Tarracina L. Vitellium cum cohortibus postulabat: praemissi Ariciam equites, agmen legionum intra Bovillas stetit.” Had the camp at Albano been in existence at this time, it would certainly have been made use of on this occasion.

It was upon the ruins of this camp that the present town of Albano arose. Coins of Maxentius were found with certain of the inscriptions of the legio II Parthica (Henzen, Bull. Inst. 1869 p. 134); and Constantine gave to the church of Albano “omnia scheneca deserta vel domos intra urbem Albanensem” (Auastas. vit. Pontif. c. 46), which has generally been taken to refer to the abandoned camp (Cluver p. 914; Nibby 1, 80; De Rossi Bull. Arch. Chr. 1873 p. 102; Tomassetti, Campagna Romana vol. I p. 54). De Rossi (Bull. Arch. Chr. 1869 p. 77) actually assigns the inscription CIL. XIV 2254 to the time of Maxentius, which he considers to be indicated by the gentilicium Valerius and the mention of a single “dominus noster”: Dessau, however (CIL. I. c.), considers the reasons insufficient. See also De Rossi, Bull. Inst. 1884 p. 84. We are thus enabled to date, within fairly narrow limits, the removal of the legio II Parthica from the camp at Albano, after which it ceased to

<sup>1</sup> Henzen Ann. Inst. 1867 p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> Nibby 1 71, 95.

contain a garrison, and the rise of the "civitas Albanensis," the present town of Albano.

(2) *Palazzuolo.*

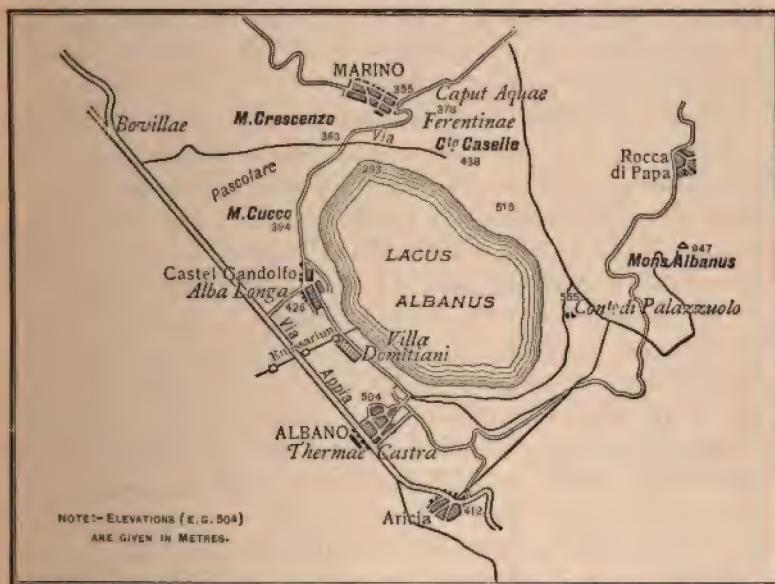
Cluver, to whom is due the abandonment of the theory that Albano occupies the site of Alba Longa, adopted in its place, in conformity with Dionysius i 61, Palazzuolo, on the E. side of the lake of Albano (p. 902, l. 35). In this he was followed by Kircher (*vetus Latium* p. 33); Volpi (*vetus Latium Profanum* Tom. vii, lib. xii, cap. i p. 7); Eschinardi (ed. Venuti 1750 pp. 286, 287)—who rejects Kircher's extension of it as far as Castel Gandolfo, as based on remains of a later period—; Fabretti (*de Aquis* ed. 1788 plan opp. p. 90); Piranesi (*Antichità di Albano, Emissario* tav. 1 fig. 1); Riccy (*Alba Longa* p. 20); Westphal (*Römische Kampagne* p. 31); Abeken (*Mittelitalien* p. 65); Schwegler (*Röm. Gesch.* i 340); Müller (*Roms Kampagna* ii 134); Giorni (*Storia di Albano* p. 12); Bormann (*Altlateinische Chorographie* p. 144); Guidi (*Paesi dei Colli Albani* p. 41); Mommsen (*History of Rome* i 48) etc.

The main argument which is employed in favour of this site, besides the statement of Dionysius, is the existence of an escarpment of the rock some 20 or 30 feet high, immediately behind the plateau on which the monastery of Palazzuolo stands. It is to be noticed, however, that this cutting of the rock is almost too finely executed to be the work of a period so remote. Similarly, the caves just to the S. of the monastery, which are pointed to as the quarries from which the materials of Alba Longa were taken, and which were then used as water cisterns, then as prisons, in the Middle Ages as nymphaea, and now once more as quarries (Müller l. c.; Nibby *Analisi* i 76), are not a certain indication of the site.

But it is more important to remark, that, while the escarpment of the rock is very prominent upon the lake side—the side, that is, from which an attack, owing to the natural steepness of the sides of the crater, would be almost impossible—the N. and S. ends of this supposed Alba Longa, which, being on comparatively level ground, would require considerable de-

fences, show no signs, either of any cutting in the rock, or of earthworks, or of walls.

One is almost tempted to think that those who have adopted Palazzuolo as the site of Alba Longa have contented themselves with observing the sheer face of the escarpment from the monastery, without troubling to search for traces of fortification on the sides away from the lake, where fortification would have been needed. Investigation would then have shown them that no such defences exist, and that, instead, a network of ancient roads traverses the space between the lake and the mountain; which space is of considerable extent, and slopes gently up towards the roots of Monte Cavo. Anything more unlike a city "ab situ porrectae in dorso urbis Longa Alba appellata" (Livy i 3 § 3) can hardly be imagined.



It is not so easy to pronounce judgment as to the real object of the escarpment behind the monastery of Palazzuolo. Aeneas Silvius (coment. ed. 1614 p. 308, cited by Tomassetti, Bull. Comm. Arch. 1894 p. 6) says "saxum excisum est ad

tantum spatium quantum monasterio necesse fuit et horto": but the cutting cannot be put down as altogether of mediaeval date (though it may have been extended) owing to the existence of an ancient road cut in the rock at the N. end of the monastery garden, at the side of which is a rock-cut tomb upon which are sculptured in relief the fasces, the sella curulis, the apex and the scipio, almost certainly therefore that of Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispalus, the only known instance of a man, who, being both pontifex and consul, died during his consulship (B.C. 176). (See Livy xli 16; Riccy, *Mausoleo Consolare nel Monte Albano ch. v*; Nibby *Analisi*, i 74.)

Further, a concession by Urban VIII in 1629 to Cardinal Girolamo Colonna of a site for a villa mentions as included in it certain ancient ruins and grottos (Riccy, *op. cit.* p. 8), and Casimiro (*Delle chiese e conventi de' frati minori della provincia Romana* c. 18 p. 228) states that the garden of the monastery lies upon the large vaults, divided into many chambers, of an ancient building.

Here was believed by Holstenius (*Annotat. in Cluver. p. 908*) to be  $\eta\ \acute{e}n\ \tau\acute{w}\ \acute{A}\lambda\beta\acute{a}\nu\varphi\ oikia$ ,  $\acute{e}\silon\ \eta\acute{v}\ o\iota\ \acute{u}\pi\acute{a}t\acute{o}\iota\ \acute{e}\n\tau\acute{a}\iota\acute{s}\ i\acute{e}\pmb{p}\o\acute{u}\nu\acute{r}\iota\acute{a}\iota\acute{s}\ k\acute{a}\t\acute{a}\l\acute{u}\n\acute{o}\uacute{s}\iota\acute{u}\iota\acute{s}$  (*Dio Cass. LIV 29*), which Riccy (*l. c.*) connects with these ruins, and from which he derives the name Palazzuolo. Bormann (*Altlat. Chor.* p. 148) follows Holstenius in attributing the tomb of Cornelius Hispalus to this  $\acute{e}\n\tau\acute{w}\ \acute{A}\lambda\beta\acute{a}\nu\varphi\ oikia$ .

Nibby, however (*i 71*), inclines, rightly, to trace the origin of the name to an imperial villa which existed upon this site from the time of Augustus, as is shown by a sepulchral inscription (*CIL. xiv 2259*) erected to a certain "Aesopus Caesaris Augusti dispensator," which was found here (see *De Rossi, Ann. Inst. 1873* p. 178). A brick-stamp dating from the end of the 1st or beginning of the 2nd century is also recorded as having been discovered at Palazzuolo (*CIL. xiv 4091, 51, i = xv 2336, 2*). A small fragment of *opus reticulatum* is still visible in one of the walls of the monastery on the N. side of the church.

It is not impossible that the comparatively small cutting required by the road was enlarged to afford space for the imperial villa, and, perhaps, still farther enlarged in the Middle

Ages: but an examination of the site will clearly show that it can have nothing to do with the fortifications of a city. Even if the road can be supposed to have existed in very early times, the cutting is far more extensive than would have been required to command it; besides, a little way to the north of the tomb another road branches eastwards, ascending by an easy slope to the plateau above Palazzuolo, without any indication that it is entering the precincts of a fortified city.

(3) *Coste Caselle.*

The hill designated by this name in the military map (Carta d' Italia, foglio 150 1: 25,000, Frascati) was the site selected by Gell for the city of Alba Longa (Topography of Rome and its vicinity p. 16 sqq.). The chief indications on which he relied were (a) a road ascending from the Via Appia, crossing the modern road at a chapel between Castel Gandolfo and Marino, and thence skirting the lake until it arrived at this site, where it stopped; (b) actual remains of the walls of the city; (c) the site itself.

He was followed by Nibby, Analisi I 62 sqq.; Giorni, Storia di Albano p. 12 (both of whom however include Palazzuolo within the limits of Alba Longa), and by Preller (Zeitschr. f. Alterthumswissenschaft 1845 März p. 220) who remarks "Ref. hat die Untersuchung Gell's an Ort und Stelle genau verfolgt, und dabei die meisten der von ihm angeführten Merkmale nicht wiedergefunden, wohl aber an dem San Marino gegenüber gelegenen, jetzt meist mit Waldung und Weinbergen bedeckten Abhange eine in dem Felsen ausgehauene alte Strasse, welche ihm für die Gellsche Bestimmung vollends entscheidend schien."

The real value of the argument as to the road is however doubtful. Nibby, who has, it is clear, at p. 62, merely reproduced the account of Gell, speaks of the road (on p. 114) as a part of the Via Triumphalis, leaving the Via Appia at Bovillae, and ascending to the summit of the Alban mount; and this is probably the truth, though, owing to the changes produced by cultivation, the road cannot be traced with cer-

tainty beyond Pentima Corvina. Bormann p. 146 rightly remarks "Ebenso halten es wir für eine Hyper-akribie, wenn Gell die Strasse, die nach der alten Alba führten, zu finden glaubte; er übersah, dass diese nicht altrömische Kunststrassen, die Jahrtausenden trotzen, gewesen sein können, sondern vermutlich ungepflasterte Wege."

As to the actual traces of walls, those who seek for them will be doomed, like Preller, to disappointment. In company with Prof. Lanciani I made a careful investigation of the ground, and could find no blocks of stone answering to Gell's description, and no pottery of any sort.

In fact a search for such relics would be hopeless unless the stratum of peperino which has buried the Alban necropolis were removed by excavation or by the wear and tear of time (M. S. De Rossi Bull. Inst. 1869, p. 52).

Finally, the site itself, though stronger than Palazzuolo, is not remarkably adapted for a city—it is almost unprotected towards the E. and SE., though its neighbourhood to the *caput aquae* Ferentinae is an argument in its favour.

It may be mentioned that Prof. M. S. De Rossi too was at one time inclined to place the site of Alba Longa upon this ridge above the *caput aquae* Ferentinae, though his reasons for doing so were not those of Gell. In his *Secondo Rapporto sugli studi e scoperte paleoetnologiche* p. 31 he says "I have seen with my own eyes the exact sites of the discoveries, which give the station of the *caput aquae* Ferentinae the extension of a large city"; and ib. 35 he connects the fact that at this point the ground showed considerable traces of the action of a stream, while the pottery was in some cases found off its balance, which seemed to him to point to an inundation, with the above-mentioned legend of the destruction of the house of Allodius<sup>1</sup>, which he transfers from the Alban lake to the lake which once occupied the valley of the *caput aquae* Ferentinae. In the map annexed to *Le Fratture vulcaniche Laziali* (*Extracto dagli Atti Acc. Pontif. Anno xxvi, Sess. IIa del 19*

<sup>1</sup> The legend of the fall of the use, has naturally no historical or palace of Allodius into the lake (Dionys. 171 § 3), of which Gell makes some topographical value whatsoever.

Genn. 1873) he marks Alba Longa as occupying this site. His views however are advanced with considerable reserve (cf. Ann. Inst. 1867 p. 44, 1871 pp. 259, 260), and are rendered additionally uncertain by his acceptance of the reported discovery of aes grave in the later strata of peperino (Ann. Inst. 1871, p. 273).

(4) *Castel Gandolfo.*

The only other view which remains to be examined is that of Holstenius, who, commenting on Cluver p. 902 lin. 35, proposes to place Alba Longa "ad meridionalem (lacus ripam) in longo illo dorso, quod supra Castellum Gandolfi porrigitur : in quo postea Domitiani villa maxima fuit." This identification is adopted by Tomassetti (Campagna Romana nel Medio Evo vol. I, p. 587). "The fact that Castel Gandolfo was inhabited in the Middle Ages, which is clear from the documents cited by Cancellieri (Lettera sopra il Tarantismo pp. 99—101), confirms my conviction that it occupies the site of the acropolis of Alba Longa, as the plateau of the Pascolare below it was occupied by the necropolis of the city."

(a) The vicinity of the most important part of the Alban necropolis, in which remains of archaic pottery are still found in profusion whenever the superstratum of peperino is removed (I found many such fragments between Monte Cucco and Monte Crescenzo on the W. of the road to Marino 26/1/98), to Castel Gandolfo is indeed the main argument in its favour.

Henzen (Bull. Inst. 1853 p. 9) remarks that the tombs and shrines of Alba Longa could hardly be supposed to have been at a great distance from the city, which he no doubt thought to have been at Palazzuolo, and, therefore, places them upon the road running from the Via Appia, which it left slightly above Bovillae, across the Pascolare, between Monte Crescenzo and Monte Cucco, and thence along the N. rim of the lake crater<sup>1</sup>. This was the opinion of Rosa, but Pigorini, who examined the site with him in 1867 (see *La Paleoetnologia in Roma, Relazione di L. Pigorini*, 1867, p. 26), rejects the idea of any connexion

<sup>1</sup> See p. 45 supra.

between the tombs and the road, owing to the difference of level and the distance which separated them. This being so, Henzen's argument may be used in support of the present theory.

(b) But other arguments may be adduced, which, if indirect, are none the less important. A careful examination of the account of the murder of Clodius in Cicero's *Pro Milone* shows (a) that the villa of Clodius stood on rising ground above the *Via Appia*, though close to it (x § 29, xix § 51, xx § 53) and near *Bovillae* (Ascon. in *Milon.* vol. III, p. 275 Teubner ed.; Cic. ad Att. v 13 § 1), i.e. close to the 13th mile (Nibby, *Analisi* 189; *Canina Ann. Inst.* 1854 p. 97); (b) that the villa had been constructed on the site and at the expense of the shrines and sacred groves of *Alba Longa* which had been preserved when the city was destroyed (Dionys. III 29 § 5; Livy I 29 § 6; Juvenal Sat. iv 60), cf. Cic. *Pro Mil.* xxxi § 85 "vos enim iam, Albani tumuli atque luci, vos, inquam, imploro atque obtestor, vosque Albanorum obrutae arae sacrorum populi Romani sociae et aequales, quas ille praeceps amentia caesis prostratisque sanctissimis lucis substructionum insanis molibus oppresserat; vestrae tum irae, vestrae religiones viguerunt, vestra vis valuit, quam ille omni scelere polluerat; tuque ex tuo edito monte, Latiaris sancte Juppiter, cuius ille lacus, nemora finesque saepe omni nefario stupro et scelere macularat." It is perhaps worth mentioning that there seems to be a distinction drawn between the shrines of *Alba* and the temple of *Jupiter Latiaris* on the mountain, which may point to a considerable local separation between the two. In any case the evidence of the passage in favour of *Castel Gandolfo* is important.

(c) Further indications are to be found in the use of the adjective *Albanus*.

The name *Albanum*, which in the last century of the Republic came into frequent use as a designation of the villas between the 13th and 15th miles of the *Via Appia*, would hardly have been appropriate to them, standing as they did out of view of the lake, had *Alba Longa* not been at *Castel Gandolfo*—we should in that case expect to find the name

Aricinum or Bovillanum instead (supra p. 39). There is, further, far more point in the invidious designation of Domitian's villa as *Arx Albana*<sup>1</sup> (Dio Cass. LXVII 1; Juvenal IV 145; Tac. Agricola 45) if we suppose that its remains, still existing in the Villa Barberini at Castel Gandolfo, occupy the very site of Alba Longa, as Holstenius thought.

Again, the name *Albani Longani Bovillenses*, which is that invariably used in inscriptions of the municipium of Bovillae (CIL. VI 1851, XIV 2405, 2406, 2409, 2411), indicates a peculiar closeness of connexion between Bovillae and Alba Longa, not shared by the other cities of Latium which also derived their origin from the same metropolis. It is possible too that the priesthoods of Bovillae had the title of *Albani*: in CIL. XIV 2410 is also mentioned a *virgo (vestalis) Albana maxima*, whose brother had directed the *comitia* at Bovillae, the inscription having been erected by the *decuriones* or *Augustales* of Bovillae in honour of them both: and from Asconius in Milon. (vol. III, p. 279 ed Teubner) "virgines quoque Albanae dixerunt mulierem ignotam venisse ad se, quae Milonis mandatu votum solveret, quod Clodius occisus esset," we may infer that the *virgines vestales Albanae* resided at or near Bovillae. Whether they were priestesses of Bovillae or of Rome is doubtful. CIL. VI 2172 (found in Rome) mentions a *virgo vestalis arcis Albanae*, and the *pontifices* and *salii Albani* seem to have been Roman priesthoods. (See Dessau CIL. XIV, p. 231.)

<sup>1</sup> This "Arx Albana" must, it is hardly necessary to say, be entirely separated from the *Arx Albana* mentioned by Livy VII 24, where he relates that the Gauls in 350 B.C. after their defeat by Popilius Laenas, "quod editissimum inter aequales tumulos ocurrerbat oculis, arcem Albanam pertunt." This may be the same as the *ark Albana* referred to in CIL. VI 2172, XIV 2410 (cf. CIL. XIV p. 216 note 4, p. 231 note 4). As to its site there is great difference of opinion. Some refer it to the citadel of Alba Longa itself, which Bormann, *Altlat.*

Chor. p. 146, Schwegler R. G. I 340; Abeken, *Mittelitalien* 65, all place to the S. of Palazzuolo, Holstenius ad Cluv. 908 l. 2 at Castel Gandolfo: others to the *Mons Albanus* (Cluver 908 l. 2) which is unlikely: or to *Rocca di Papa* (Riccy p. 81, Müller II, 137, Nibby III, 20, Tomassetti, *Via Latina* 239), which Nibby and Tomassetti consider to have been at the same time the *ark of Fabia or Cabum* (ll. cc. cf. Bull. Inst. 1861, 206, 1870, 136, 1885, 186, Ann. Inst. 1873, 169, CIL. VI 2173-2175).

(d) It may, further, be noted that Dionysius i 66 § 3 (*ὑπόκειται δὲ τῷ πόλει πεδία θαυμαστὰ μὲν ἴδεῖν, πλούσια δὲ καὶ οἰνος καὶ καρπούς ἔξενεγκεῖν κτλ.*) seems to apply better to Castel Gandolfo, which immediately overlooks the plain of the Campagna, than to either of the sites on the E. of the lake.

(e) Finally, Castel Gandolfo is a site eminently easy of defence: the rim of the crater is here extremely narrow, and the slope both to the lake and the plain is steep. The imperial villa has doubtless removed any traces of escarpment of the rock or of other fortifications.

The only obstacle to the identification here proposed is the passage of Dionysius (i 66) already quoted, according to which the site of Alba Longa must be sought on the E. side of the lake.

This single passage, however, seems hardly sufficient to outweigh the evidence—none the less strong because indirect—in favour of Castel Gandolfo, especially if the uncritical character of Dionysius' work be considered.

It may be objected that, after all, no attempt can be made with any prospect of success to identify the site of Alba Longa, since the configuration of the ground has been entirely altered by the activity of the Alban volcano. It is, however, a fair answer to this objection, that the bed of peperino, which covers the layer of ashes in which the so-called "hut urns" were found, is only three feet thick, with a layer of soil 14 inches thick above it (Lanciani, *Ancient Rome* p. 28)—an amount entirely insufficient to change the whole character of the locality to any material extent—especially when we recollect that modern Rome lies at the least 10 feet—often far more—above the level of the ancient city. Our search then for Alba Longa cannot fairly be said to have been futile on this score: and the arguments brought forward seem at any rate to point with a fair measure of probability to Castel Gandolfo as the site. The appearance of the modern village, which, with its single long street of white houses, recalls irresistibly the ancient name, is, if nothing more, singularly suggestive.

THOMAS ASHBY.

## COLOURS IN GREEK.

### XANΘΟΣ.

I. THE adjective *ξανθός* occurs 42 times in the Iliad and Odyssey. Most often (31 times) it is an epithet of Menelaos, the combination *ξ. M.* ending the line in the nominative (27) dative (3) or accusative (1). Further the word is five times found, in the same position in the line, followed by proper names of the same metrical form (——) as Menelaos, viz. Rhadamanthus (nom. and acc.) Demeter and Agamede (*ξανθὴν Α.*). In one of these 36 passages the word is limited by *κάρη* (*κ. ξ. Μενέλαος, ο. 133*<sup>1</sup>), but they all belong to one type. Then the word is twice used of the hair of Achilles (A. 197, Ψ. 141) and twice of that of Odysseus (*ν. 399 = 431*). Lastly the word is twice used of horses (I. 407 and Α. 680).

In the Iliad we also find *Ξάνθος* (1) as the name of a man killed on the Trojan side E. 152, (2) as the divine name of the Skamandros river, and as the name of the Lycian river, and (3) as the name of a horse of Achilles. Hector's horse Xanthos is only mentioned in Θ. 185, a line that is generally condemned.

If we examine the few passages in which the word is not combined with a proper name—they are six, or rather only five in all (*ν. 431* being merely *ν. 399* changed from first to third person)—we are met with two, or, as I think, three serious difficulties.

<sup>1</sup> In such a line as this—

*ο. 133 τοῖς δ' ἦγε πρὸς δῶμα || κάρη ξανθὸς Μενέλαος—βοήν ἀγαθὸν* is the regular epithet of Menelaos. Perhaps

*κάρη* has displaced *ἔδν*. Cf. *β. 247 κατὰ δῶμα ἔδν* in this part of the line: for the absence of emphasis on *ἔδν* cf. *ἔδι δόμος* in *δ. 618*.

(1) Athene gave Odysseus, when she changed him for the better in Phaeacia, *οὐλας κόμας* (ξ. 231). When she reverses this change in Ithaca, she says

v. 399 *ξανθὰς δ' ἐκ κεφαλῆς ὀλέσω τρίχας*  
(cf. *ib.* 431).

Accordingly Athene had given him 'yellow hair' in Phaeacia. Yet when she next made him beautiful,

v. 176 *κνάνεαι δ' ἐγένοντο γενειάδες ἀμφὶ γένειον.*

(2) Further in the quite general lines of the Iliad

I. 406 *ληιστοὶ μὲν γάρ τε βόες καὶ ἵφια μῆλα*  
*κτητοὶ δὲ τρίποδές τε καὶ ἵππων ξανθὰ κάρηνα*

the limited expression *ἴ. ξανθὰ κ.* appears in odd contrast with *ἵφια μῆλα*.

(3) Again we may surely call un-Homeric the casual introduction of natural colour (as distinct from light and shade: cf. Gladstone, *Studies in Homer*, III. pp. 457—499) in these six passages, in those already quoted, as well as in the remaining three, in

A. 680 *ἵππους δὲ ξανθὰς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα*<sup>1</sup>,

and, yet more, in

A. 197 *ξανθῆς δὲ κόμης ἔλε Πηλείωνα,*

and Ψ. 141 (Achilles) *ξανθὴν ἀπεκείρατο χαῖτην.*

The epics show little appreciation of natural colour. Of what colour did the poet imagine Helen's eyes? or her hair? With Homer she is *ἡύκομος, καλλίκομος*: Euripides speaks of her *βοστρύχους ξανθῆς κόμης*, *Hel.* 1224. Apollo the golden-haired is merely *ἀκερσεκόμης* T. 39. The hair of Paris (*κέραι ἄγλαέ* Λ. 385, cf. Γ. 55) and of Euphorbos (*κόμαι Χαρίτεσσιν ὄμοιατ* P. 51) was deserving of special notice, but nothing is said of colour. Similarly colour is absent from the simile of the *στατὸς ἵππος*, though we are told

Z. 509 *ὑψοῦ δὲ κάρη ἔχει, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται*  
*ώμοις ἀισσονται.*

<sup>1</sup> Did this suggest *δέο μὲν ξανθῶν | ἵππων ἀγέλας*, *Anaxandrides apud Athen.*  
131 c?

As parallels to the black hair of Odysseus in π. 176 we can refer to Poseidon *κνανοχαίτης*, to the eyebrows *κνάνεαι* of Zeus and Hera A. 528 = P. 209, O. 102, and to the *χαῖται κνάνεαι* X. 402 of Hector. In the last case the context seems to make clear that the dark black hair is mentioned as something beautiful, to heighten our sorrow for Hector's treatment by Achilles:

X. 401 τοῦ δὲ ήν ἐλκομένοιο κονίσαλος, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται  
κνάνεαι πίτναντο, κάρη δὲ ἄπαν ἐν κονίγσι  
κεῖτο πάρος χαρίεν.

But in none of the 40 passages in which *ξανθός* is used of men or gods is there any indication that the poet has any special reason for breaking his rule of neglecting natural colour. Similarly, with the casual mention of *ἴππων* *ξανθὰ κάρηνα* contrast the terms of admiration

K. 436 τοῦ δὴ καλλίστους ἵππους ἵδον ηδὲ μεγίστους·  
λευκότεροι χιόνος, θείειν δὲ ἀνέμοισιν ὄμοιοι.

II. All these difficulties would vanish, and no fresh difficulties would be introduced, if *ξανθός* were taken to be, not a word of colour, but the equivalent of *κάρη κομόωντες*, *ἐνπλόκαμος*, etc., and *καλλίθριξ* (*καλλίτριχες* *ἴπποι* 14 times). I therefore propose to derive it from the same root as Lithuanian *kasā* a plait, Slavonic *kosâ* hair, *cesati* to comb, with which Prellwitz *Et. Wb. d. gr. Spr.* connects *ξέω*. On this theory *ξανθός* properly denotes long, thick, 'combable' hair. As a standing epithet it denotes (like *κρατερός* or *πόδας ὥκνις*) the possession of a common desirable attribute in an uncommon degree, the hair being the common ornament of the Achaeans. It was perhaps an indication of bodily strength as well as beautiful in itself, and is well assigned to Menelaos<sup>1</sup> who is, perhaps, the most perfect example of Achaean chivalry: contrast the metrically equivalent combination *κρατερὸς Διομήδης*. The *ξανθὴ χαῖτη* Ψ. 141 was a curl,

Ψ. 142 τὴν ρά Σπερχειῶ ποταμῷ τρέφε τηλεθώσαν,

<sup>1</sup> Menelaos is represented with long curls on the archaic monument shown in Helbig, *das homerische Epos*<sup>2</sup>, p. 217. Cf. 'the seven locks' of Samson, *Judges* xvi. 19.

and it is quite natural that Athene, to attract Achilles' attention, should take hold of a long curl (*ξανθῆς κόμης ἔλε*, A. 197)<sup>1</sup>. *ξανθὴ Δημήτηρ* reappears as *ἐυπλόκαμος* ε. 125: the former epithet does not seem to be suggested by the colour of ripe corn, the verse-ending *ξ. Δ. (— — — —)* being merely an imitation of the common ending *ξανθὸς Μενέλαος* (*— — — — —*).

Long hair is a natural result of Odysseus' transformation in Od. vi. It seems not unlikely that *ξανθάς* was used in Od. xiii. instead of *οὐλας* (*οὐλας ἡκε κόμας* ζ. 231) simply in order to avoid the combination *οὐλας...όλέσω*. *οὐλος* seems to be for *ρολνο-*s, Brugmann *Grundriss* I<sup>2</sup>. p. 475: *ρ* was lost comparatively early before *ο* (cf. Monro *H. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> p. 372 and Brugmann *Grundriss*<sup>2</sup> I. p. 306), and, *οὐλ* being from *ολς*, there is no true diphthong, but *ō*. Jordan *J. f. Phil.* 1876, p. 166 conjectured that the name Aithon assumed τ. 183 by Odysseus might refer to "das röthlich blonde Haar." But the meaning of *αιθων* is itself obscure: it is sufficient to note here that Θ. 185, on which Göbel specially relied as proving the meaning 'fulvous' (see Ameis-Hentze, *Anhang* σ. 372), is spurious<sup>2</sup>.

'Long-hair' seems as suitable as 'Fair-hair' to be the name of a man (E. 152 Xanthos and Thoon, 'Long-hair' and 'Swift,' sons of Phainops, 'Brightface') or of rivers. Most people would probably find an effect, not a cause, of the name Xanthos in the story of Aristotle 519<sup>a</sup> 18 δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ Σκάμανδρος ποταμὸς ξανθὰ τὰ πρόβατα ποιεῖν διὸ καὶ τὸν "Ομηρόν φασιν ἀντὶ Σκαμάνδρου Ξάνθον προσαγορεύειν αὐτόν"<sup>3</sup>. Again, as the name of the Lycian river Xanthos cannot be the translation of any Indo-European or Semitic word meaning 'sandy,' 'yellow' (see Pape-Benseler *Gr. Eigennamen*, or Ebeling *Lex. Hom.*), if the Lycians were distinct from both Indo-Europeans and Semitics, as Kretschmer maintains (*Einleitung in die Geschichte der gr. Sprache* c. x.).

As to Xanthos and Balios (*καλλίτριχε ἵππω* P. 504), we

<sup>1</sup> Πύρρος son of Achilles is of course not Homeric.

<sup>2</sup> The name *Κομαθός* is not Homeric.

<sup>3</sup> 'Der Nebenname des Skaman-

dros, Xanthos, scheint...erst mit den Lykiern in die Troas eingeschmuggelt' Kretschmer *Einleitung*, p. 189.

hear of their *θαλερή χαίτη* P. 439, cf. Ψ. 281—2, and of Xanthos in particular we read, how he bowed his head,

T. 405

πᾶσα δὲ γαίτη

Ζεύγλης ἐξεριποῦσα παρὰ ζυγὸν οὐδας ἵκανεν.

But does not 'Bayard' correspond better with 'Pie-bald' (cf. L. S.) *Βαλίος*? To this I reply that the meaning of *βαλίος* is uncertain, and that the interpretation 'spotted' may have been suggested by a word that must really be quite distinct from Homeric *Βαλίος*, viz. *φαλίος* (*τὸ φαλίὸν καὶ τὸ βαλιὸν λέγοντιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἔχόντων τι λευκὸν ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ* Schol. Theocr. viii. 27, Ahrens *Buc. Gr. Rel.* II. 290). Liddell and Scott give 'spotted' 'dappled' as the meaning in Euripides, but 'swift' for Oppian: cf. *Βαλίος πόδας αἰνετός* a hound, Bergk<sup>4</sup> *fr. ἀδ.* 39, 5 (MSS. *βάνος πόδας ἀνετός*), a fragment which may be derived from Stesichorus. The scholion (Dindorf iv., II. 149) on the names Xanthos and Balios runs *τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς χροιᾶς ὄνομάζει τὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πηδάν*—as the note now stands, the last words cannot refer to Pedasos. Eustathius (1051, 17) recognises the two meanings *ταχύς* and *στικτός*. Both meanings may be merely conjectural. In the sense of 'swift' or 'strong' I should connect the word not with *βάλλω*, the Homeric use of which lends little support to such a derivation, but rather with Sk. *bála*, 'strength,' Lat. *de-bilis* and perhaps *βέλτερον*, on which words see Brugmann *Grundriss*<sup>2</sup> I. p. 507. The modern Hindi *bail* 'ox' is from this root according to Platts, *Hind. Dict.* s. v.

So far then as concerns the Homeric poems the derivation and meaning proposed is satisfactory.

III. The development of meaning whereby *ξανθός* 'long,' 'luxuriant' as an epithet of hair, came to denote fair hair and then fair light-coloured things in general, so that Xenophanes speaks of *ἄρτοι ξανθοί* i 9 B<sup>4</sup>, may be regarded as the combined effect of two post-Homeric changes of fashion. One of these is a distinct admiration for fair hair, shown by the occurrence from Hesiod onwards of such expressions as 'golden-haired.' We find no such phrases in Homer. The 'golden-hair' of the horses of Zeus *χρυσέντιν* θείερησιν κομώντε Θ. 42 is to be

understood literally, like their brazen hoofs (*χαλκόποδ* ἵππω): cf. the *χρύσεος λόφος* made for Achilles by Hephaistos Σ. 612. The metal is chosen for its brilliance. But such words as *χρυσοκόμης* (Hes. *Theog.* 947 *χρ. δὲ Διώνυσος ξανθὴν Ἀριάδνην*) or *χρυσοπλόκαμος* (used of Leto *H. Ap.* 205—in Homer she is simply *ἡύκαμος*) do not occur at all. Apollo indeed continued to be painted with black hair down to the time of Ion if the passage given by Athenaeus is genuine, the form *ἡμείφθη* in it being due to the compiler. Sophocles is represented as saying (604 B) οὐδὲ ὁ παιητὴς [σοι ἀρέσκει] <ό> λέγων *χρυσοκόμαν Ἀπόλλωνα* (Pind. *Ol.* vi. 41). *χρυσέας γὰρ εἰ ἐποίησεν ὁ ζωγράφος τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ κόμας καὶ μὴ μελαίνας, χείρον ἀν ἦν τὸ ζωγράφημα.*

The other change was that grown men ceased to wear their hair long and curled. Archilochus expresses his contempt for that fashion.

Fr. 58 Bergk<sup>4</sup> οὐ φιλέω μέγαν στρατηγὸν οὐδὲ διαπεπλιγμένον οὐδὲ βοστρύχοισι γαῦρον κτλ.

Xenophanes even speaks as though the Homeric fashions of carefully dressed hair and purple shawls were distinctly Lydian, when he says of the men of Colophon

Fr. 3 Bergk<sup>4</sup>

ἀβροσύνας δὲ μαθόντες ἀνωφελέας παρὰ Λυδῶν  
.....  
ἥσαν εἰς ἀγορὴν παναλουργέα φάρε' ἔχοντες  
.....  
αὐχαλέοι, χαλτησιν ἀγαλλόμενοι εὐπρεπέεσσιν  
ἀσκητοῖς ὁδμὴν χρίμασι δενόμενοι.

The effect of this change was the general disappearance of long black hair. For the hair of children and young men was comparatively light. Even Homer notices the brightness of the child's hair

Z. 401 'Εκτορίδην ἀγαπητὸν ἀλίγκιον ἀστέρι καλῷ,  
and Aristotle tells us 797 b 24 τῶν παιδίων ἀπάντων αἱ

<sup>1</sup> Compare and contrast Hogarth p. 69 the 'golden-haired babies' of the *A Wandering Scholar in the Levant*, Anatolian Turk.

κεφαλαὶ καὶ ἄρχας μὲν γίνονται πυρραὶ... ὄμοιώς δὲ καὶ περὶ... τὸ γένειον ὅταν ἄρχωνται τὸ πρῶτον... γενεῖαν. But the women, who, like the children and the youths, wore their hair long, believed that Eros

Eur. *Dan.* φιλεῖ κάτοπτρα καὶ κόμης ξανθίσματα.

Consequently long hair was very often fair hair, or at least those who had long hair desired it should be also regarded as fair. The two attributes long and fair became associated, and *ξανθός*, properly a term of admiration for long hair, came to denote long fair hair. Compare the word *fair*. It is connected with *πηγός*, and in the earliest English means beautiful to the eye, but it has acquired the meaning, when used of complexion or hair, of light as opposed to dark. The further development of *ξανθός* into a word of colour is not difficult.

IV. The state of things in Euripides, who uses *ξανθός* fairly often (25 times according to Beck's Index), seems to bear out this account. The word is always used of hair, unless we read *θριγκώματα*, *I. T.* 73. Further, the word is frequently (12 times) used in connection with such words as *βόστρυχος* *Cycl.* 499, *Or.* 1532, *Bac.* 235, *Hel.* 1224, *πλόκαμος* *El.* 1071, *I. A.* 758, *πλόκος* *H. F.* 233 and *χαίτη* *El.* 515, *I. T.* 173, *Tr.* 227, *Cycl.* 75, *Hipp.* 220, i.e. fair hair is usually long hair. Further those who have this fair hair are generally young. Those who have it are Harmonia *Med.* 832 and Cassandra *I. A.* 758, Clytaimnestra *El.* 1071, Glance *Med.* 980, Helen *Hel.* 1224, Iphigeneia *I. A.* 681, 1366, *I. T.* 173 and Phaedra *Hipp.* 134, 220. Then we have the child of Heracles *H. F.* 993 and the children of Medeia *Med.* 1141. Of deities we have only Dionysos *Bac.* 235, *Cycl.* 75; and of men, Menelaos *Or.* 1532, *I. A.* 175, Lycos *H. F.* 233, Heracles *H. F.* 362, Hippolytos *Hipp.* 1345, Orestes *El.* 515, cf. *I. T.* 52 and Parthenopaios *Ph.* 1159. Dionysos was generally represented as youthful. On Lycos Wilamowitz (*H. F.* 233) remarks 'the beautiful fair hair of Lycos is emphasized, because he is young and strong, in order to contrast with his cowardice.' The fair hair of Heracles is mentioned in connection with his first labour. Orestes was certainly young when he killed his mother, and

also, presumably, at the date of the *I. T.* Hippolytos was of course young, and we may suppose the same of Parthenopaios. Menelaos is *ξανθός* in Euripides because he is in Homer: the contempt felt by the later Greeks for long fair hair on a man of his age (cf. Eur. *Or.* 1532) must have helped the post-Homeric degradation of his character. We get the combination of youth with fair *βόστρυχοι* or *χαίτη* or *πλόκοι* in the case of Dionysos, Lykos and Orestes (cf. *Or.* 387). So probably *ξανθοκομᾶν Δαναῶν*, Pindar *N.* ix. 17 = 40, means "the youthful chivalry of Hellas," and *ξανθοκόμας Πτολεμαῖος* Theocr. xvii. 103 flatters Ptolemy on his youth: he was 24 at his accession<sup>1</sup>. Setting aside the case of Menelaos in which the classical writers were influenced by Homer, we should have no little difficulty to find an example in post-Homeric times to support Ameis-Hentze's note on the *ξανθαὶ τρίχες* of Odysseus *v.* 399, "die blonden, weil Odysseus dem epischen Sänger noch als schöner und kräftiger Held erscheint." Odysseus was surely not shown to the Phaeacians in the guise of a youth or stripling "full of himself, and new to persons and things."

## NOTE.

## XANTHOS AND LYKIOI.

Are these genuine Greek words, and not rather foreign words in a Greek dress, like *Φόρκυς* B. 862, which represents Phrygian *Bherekunt* according to Kretschmer *U.* pp. 186, 229? Xanthos is not found as a geographical term in Greece (though it is true that a Xanthos was son of the Erymanthos in Arcadia). The Xanthus in Epirus *Aen.* iii. 350 may be put down as a poetic fiction. In Miletos was a family called

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Plato *Lysis* 217 *b*, *εἴ τις σοῦ*  
[Menexenos] *ξανθὸς οὐρας τὰς τρίχας*  
*κτλ.* and Theocr. *ii.* 78. Cf. too in  
reference to the young son of Henry VI.

Then came wandering by  
A shadow like an angel, with bright hair  
Dabbled in blood.  
*Rich. III. i 4, 52.*

Εὐξαντίς deriving its name from Εὐξάνθιος or Εὐξάντιος, son of the Cretan Minos: cf. Εὐξαντίδα νᾶσον (Ceos) Bacch. ii. 8 with Kenyon's note. The double form of this name -νθ- beside -ντ- may be due to assimilation to ξανθός; or both -ντ- and -νθ- may represent a non-Aryan -nt-, cf. Kretschmer *l.l.* pp. 293 seq. Ξάνθος may be connected with this Εὐξαντίς—the Lycian city Xanthos was so called ἀπὸ Ξάνθου Αἰγυπτίου ἢ Κρητὸς οἰκιστοῦ (Steph. Byz.). As this non-Aryan -nt- appears as -nd- in Asia Minor, e.g. in Pandaros (Kretschmer *ib.* p. 296), one would like to know the view of those skilled in these matters, as to the possibility of Xanthos, as the name of a city, river and man, being identical with the god Sandon.

Again, why should the Egyptians of the 14th cent. have used the term Ru-ka or Ru-ku for the Lycians, if the name Λύκιος were a Greek invention? and can Λύκιος be separated from Λυκάων?

The Greeks do not seem to have suspected that Xanthos and Lykioi were more Greek than Sirmis or Sibros, Arna and Tremileis.

Against the view that Xanthos &c. in the north are poetical borrowings is the circumstance that we should, I think, have to suppose not one, but two distinct loans, for the Iliad places the northern Lykie at a distance from Xanthos-Skamandros. We have two groups of names. First at Ilion, Xanthos [cf. Xanthe, name of the Troad, Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Τρωάς, and Hesych.] and Lykaon, son of Priam, and secondly in the valley of the Aisopos the Lykie of Pandaros, son of Lykaon.

Dr Leaf writes on E. 105 "The only strange thing is that the Trojan Lycians disappear at the end of the episode of Pandaros (296) &c." But P.'s followers do not appear to be known as Λύκιοι. They are Τρῶες B. 826, and naturally merge in the mass of Trojans after the death of their chief.

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## ΠΟΡΦΥΡΕΟΣ.

I. A very slight examination of commentaries &c. on Homer shows that there is no general agreement about the meaning of *πορφύρεος*. In Ameis-Hentze's *Odyssey* β. 428 we find (*κῦμα*) “*πορφύρεον* hier in der ursprünglichen Bedeutung (vgl. *πορφύρω*) *aufwallend.*” On A. 482 = β. 428 Dr Leaf writes “*πορφύρεον*, a word which seems to be properly used, as here, of the dark colour of disturbed waves.” But Professor Henke, *Homers Odyssee, Hilfsheft* (Teubner, 1896) p. 100, declares that “das aufgewühlte, zerstiebende, schäumende Wasser, etwa am Vordersteven des Schiffes, ist glitzernd, *πορφύρεος*.” Similarly he explains (p. 150) that on beds were laid *ῥήγεα*, “Kissen, die mit weissen Ueberzügen versehen sind und deshalb *σιγαλόεντα πορφύρεα*, glänzende, schimmernde genannt werden” and (p. 160) “Die Farbe des Mantels ist rot, *φοινικόεσσα*, oder schimmernd, schillernd, *πορφυρέη*.” But in Ameis-Hentze<sup>5</sup> Γ. 126 δίπλακα *πορφυρένη* is “ein purpurfarbiges.” Again, in L. S.<sup>7</sup> we read that when the word is used of stuff, cloths &c. “it does not mean *purple* or *red*, but *dark*, *russet*, without any notion of artificial colour; for the *purple-fish* (*πορφύρα*) was unknown to Hom.; nor does he seem to have been acquainted with the art of dyeing, except in the rudest form, *Il.* 4. 141.” The meaning of the word would therefore seem to be still open to discussion, and I should like to suggest the following arrangement.

II. In accordance with its etymology, as an epithet of the shore-water *ἄλα* (once), of a wave *κῦμα*, both at sea (thrice) and in a river (twice), *πορφύρεος* means “violently disturbed,” “surging,” “swelling.”

II. 391 The *χαράδραι* swollen with heavy rain run down  
εἰς ἄλα πορφυρένη, i.e. into the shore-water which is violently  
agitated by this influx from the hills.

In A. 482 =  $\beta$ . 428 (the time in A. is early day, in  $\beta$ . early night) a wave surges and roars around the stem of a sailing vessel. In reference to this passage Breusing (*Fleckeneisens Jahrbücher* 1885, p. 82) justly remarked that the scholiast's *μέλαν* is as suitable to sunlight. Similarly  $\nu$ . 85 in the wake of the Phaeacian ship, which went faster than the fastest birds, a wave of the roaring sea *πορφύρεον μέγα θῦε*.

Again we hear once or twice of a great wave miraculously surging up in a river:

Φ. 326 *πορφύρεον δ' ἄρα κῦμα διπτετέος ποταμοῖο*  
*ἴστατ' ἀειρόμενον.*

λ. 243 *πορφύρεον δ' ἄρα κῦμα περιστάθη οὔρει ἵσον*  
*κυρτωθέν, κρύψει δὲ θεὸν θητήν τε γυναικα.*

In the latter passage the scene is *ἐν προχοῇς ποταμοῦ*, but according to Ebeling's *Lex. Hom.*, s. v. *πορφύρεος*, the wave, which is due to Poseidon, is a wave of the sea. This doubt, however, does not affect our interpretation.

The verb *πορφύρω* (*πορ-φύρ-ω*), a reduplicated intensive verb (cf. *μορμύρω*) from *abhur*, has much the same meaning in the only passage of the poems in which it is not figurative, viz. Μ. 16, where it describes the heaving of the billows when we see

“The water swell before a boisterous storm”  
(Rich. III. 2. 3. 43).

It occurs there in a simile, and the whole passage is the best illustration of its transferred meaning:

Μ. 16 ὡς δ' ὅτε πορφύρη πέλαγος μέγα κίματι κωφῶ,  
ὅστομενον λιγέων ἀνέμων λαιψηρὰ κέλευθα,  
αὔτως, οὐδ' ἄρα τε προκυπλίνδεται οὐδετέρωσε,  
πρίν τινα κεκριμένον καταβήμεναι ἐκ Διὸς οὐρον,  
ὡς ὁ γέρων ὕρμαινε, δαιζόμενος κατὰ θυμὸν,  
διχθάδι...

With this compare

Φ. 551 πολλὰ δέ οἱ κραδίη πόρφυρε μένοντι, i.e. Agenor was "sorely moved" in mind as he considered whether he should flee with the rest or not. Slightly changed (*μοι, κιόντι*) the expression recurs δ. 427, 572 and κ. 309. The passages in the fourth book describe Menelaos pondering the words of Eidothee and of Proteus, and the last refers to Odysseus after Hermes told him about Circe, and gave him the magic herb. It is to be noted that *πορφύρειν* perhaps does not itself convey any idea of hesitation between conflicting courses, but only the notion of being disturbed.

With *πορφύρειν* cf. the use in the Rig-Veda of the intensive 3. sg. Pres. Ind. járbhurīti = to move quickly to and fro ("sich rasch hin und her bewegen, zucken, zappeln"). The participles járbhurat, jarbhurāṇa have the same meaning or are used of the play (züngeln) of fire (see Grassmann, *Lexicon zum R. V.* col. 940 s.v. bhur).

In these instances *πορφύρεος* acts as a verbal adjective to *πορφύρειν*, and one cannot help suspecting that the word is really an instance of *-ιο-* used (rarely, in Greek, Monro *H. Gr.* p. 101) as a primary suffix. When the word came to denote a colour, then analogy with *κνάνεος* and similar words may have brought about the change<sup>1</sup>.

III. Besides *πορφύρω* we find in the two Epics the transitive verb *φύρω*. In Attic this verb had often a meaning not far remote from that of *πορφύρω*, viz. to jumble, confuse. In Homer we have only six instances of it, and in all it is used of wetting something solid with a liquid that leaves a mark, generally with tears Ω. 162 ρ. 103 σ. 173 τ. 596, and twice with blood ι. 397 σ. 21. This development of meaning seems to require us, if *φύρω* is rightly derived from the same root as *πορφύρω*, to suppose that the Greeks were already acquainted with some process of dyeing in which they moved about (*ἔφυρον*) the solid to be stained in a dye. As the result of such moving about was to stain, *φύρειν* acquired this specialised meaning.

<sup>1</sup> The Aeolic *πορφύριος*, of course, is no evidence.

The adjective *πορφύρεος* ("in a middle-muddle in the dyeing vat" Grant Allen *Colour-Sense* p. 270) underwent a change of meaning similar to that of *πεφυρμένος* to be "in a stained condition" (this participle is the commonest form from *φύρω* in H.), but in the case of the adjective the process of change was carried further. The adjective could be used by the poet to denote colour without any mention of the colouring matter, whereas the verb *φύρω* is always accompanied in the poems by a dative (once a genitive) which expresses that with which the thing is stained. Further the adjective was limited to the important colours obtained from the purple shell-fish and from the coccus ilicis: and, lastly, the colouring process being forgotten, the word could be used to denote objects naturally coloured.

(a) Objects artificially coloured. We have 16 instances of the word so used, to which we should add the three cases of *ἀλιπόρφυρος*. This word is most simply and satisfactorily explained as sea-purple, i.e. dyed with purple obtained from the sea, which was reckoned better and more valuable than cochineal. In the wonderful Ithacan cave the nymphs

*v. 108 φάρε' ὑφαίνουσιν ἀλιπόρφυρα,*

and the Queen of the Phaeacians sat

*ζ. 53 & 306 ἡλάκατα στρωφῶσ' ἀλιπόρφυρα.*

The wool of Arete was 'purple-in-grain,' for the dye is fastest if the wool is dyed before spinning: see the note in Furness' *Variorum Shakespeare, m. n. D.* p. 41) and cf. *Exodus* xxxv. 25. The existence of *ἀλιπόρφυρος* by the side of *πορφύρεος*, and the limitation of the former word to things possessed by nymphs and Phaeacians, seem to show that the purple of ordinary beings was of an inferior kind. But it would seem as if even this were not in common use. The purple carpets and rugs<sup>1</sup> are used for guests in the house of Arete η. 337, Circe κ. 353, Menelaos δ. 298, Odysseus *v. 151*, and in the hut of Achilles Ι. 200 and Ω. 645. The Phaeacians, who

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the coloured, wadded quilt *razā*, commonly used in India in the cold weather.

have everything handsome about them, use a purple ball θ. 373 in their dance. Hector's bones are wrapped in purple πέπλοι Ω. 796: Helen and Andromache weave great purple webs (according to the accepted reading Γ. 126, X. 441). Telemachus wears a purple shawl δ. 115, 154 when he goes to visit Menelaos, and similarly Odysseus represents himself as paying calls in Crete in a purple shawl, and receiving such a thing (δίπλακα) as a present τ. 225, and 242: the Phaeacians also gave him a purple φᾶρος θ. 84. Lastly Agamemnon took a purple φᾶρος in his hand, evidently to attract attention, when he started to rally the Greeks Θ. 221.

(b) Objects not artificially coloured.

(i) The word is applied to blood shed in battle in P. 361 (*αἴματι δὲ χθὼν δεύετο πορφυρέῳ*), and we are told of Hypsenor, whose hand was cut off by the sword, of Kleoboulos, whose neck was struck with the sword, and of Echeclos, whose head was cut in two with the sword

τὸν δὲ κατ' ὄσσε  
ἔλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιῆ.  
(E. 83 II. 334 T. 477)

Cf. Shirley's lines

Upon Death's purple altar now  
see where the victor-victim bleeds:

or the references under *purple* in Schmidt's *Shakespeare Lexicon*. In the three cases of π. θάνατος our attention is directed to the loss of blood, in E. 82 by the words *αίματοεσσα δὲ χείρ πεδίῳ πέσε*, and in II. 334 T. 477 by *πᾶν δὲ πεθερμάνθη ξίφος αἴματι*: and it seems safe to assume that the loss of blood was more sudden and greater than when death was caused by a spear which stuck in the body.

(ii) The two remaining instances are included in the following passage:

P. 547 ἡύτε πορφυρέην ἱριν θυντοῖσι τανύσση  
Ζεὺς ἐξ οὐρανόθεν, τέρας ἔμμεναι ἡ πολέμοιο,  
ἡ καὶ χειμῶνος δυσθαλπέος, ὃς ρά τε ἔργων

ἀνθρώπους ἀνέπαυσεν ἐπὶ χθονὶ μῆλα δὲ κῆδει,  
ὡς ἡ πορφυρέη νεφέλη πυκάσασα ἐ αὐτὴν  
δύσετ' Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνος, ἔγειρε δὲ φῶτα ἔκαστον.

Veckenstedt (*Geschichte der griechischen Farbenlehre* pp. 91—4) says that in the language of some primitive peoples the rainbow is called simply 'red', or special emphasis is laid on the red, the reason for this being that red suggests fire or blood. So in our passage the purple rainbow is a portent of war and *πορφύρεος θάνατος*, or of the fiery scirocco. The war-goddess Athene, who in Δ came down to the earth like a shooting-star cast by Zeus

Δ. 76 ἡ ναύτησι τέρας ἡὲ στρατῷ εὐρέι λαῶν,

i.e., presumably, as a sign of a storm or of a battle, here wraps a fiery red cloud about her when she comes to excite yet further the contest over Patroclus. The cloud moving with divine rapidity makes a long line of red light which the poet compares to a rainbow. It seems inconsistent with the simplicity of the Homeric treatment of colour to suppose, as Veckenstedt suggests, that, as purple is "Rot mit Blauschimmer," it is used here in reference to the blue as well as the red in the rainbow.

IV. All the Homeric instances have now been surveyed. The explanations, given in somewhat dogmatic form, have perhaps the merit of being appropriate, and of involving nothing inconsistent with the simplicity of the Homeric treatment of colour. There remains the duty of considering the use made of *purpureus* by the Augustan poets, for, on the assumption that the account just given be correct, the meaning is not obvious of

purpureis ales oloribus (Hor. *C.* iv. 1, 10)

and of

bracechia purpurea candidiora nive

(Albinovanus, *Eleg.* II. 62).

Horace may indeed have intended wonderful purple swans like the purple ram of Simonides (*Fr.* 21), which in its turn

may have been suggested by the Homeric rams *ἰοδνεφὲς εἴρος ἔχοντες* (i. 426). Albinovanus, again, may have referred to snow as seen when

"Blue isles and snowy mountains wear  
The purple noon's transparent light".

On the other hand, at least in the line of Albinovanus, it is more likely that *purpureus* means 'bright,' 'shining.' To such a use of the word certain passages in Catullus and Vergil may have given rise. In the well-known description of sunrise at sea Catullus applied *purpureus* to light:

purpureaque procul nantes ab luce refulgent  
(LXIV. 275).

In this line (which no doubt gives us the poet's interpretation of *κῦμα πορφύρεον*) *purpurea* is used as literally as in the passage just quoted from Shelley. Vergil followed with

largior hic campos aether et lumine vestit  
purpureo, (Aen. vi. 640)

where, again, 'purpureo' is literal, as in Shelley, and with

lumenque juventae  
purpureum  
(Aen. i. 590),

with which compare the well-known verse of Phrynicus (*apud Athen. 604 A*)

λάμπει δ' ἐπὶ πορφυρέαις παρῆσι φῶς ἔρωτος.

This application of 'purpureus' to light may have misled Horace in *Odes* iv. (written after the death of Vergil) and Albinovanus into applying the epithet to objects which are not purple, but shine very brightly. None, I think, of the passages collected by commentators from Vergil's own poems requires the meaning 'lustrous'. 'ver purpureum' (*Ecl. ix. 40*; so Tibullus iii. 5, 4) is to be explained by 'vere rubenti' (*Georg. ii. 319*), for in spring 'mother Flora'

praespargens ante viai  
cuncta coloribus egregiis et odoribus opplet.  
(Lucr. v. 739)

Special mention may be made of the following writings:

Grant Allen: *The Colour-Sense*, 1879.

A. Breusing: *Nautisches zu Homeros*, i. πορφύρειν und πορφύρεος (Fleckensisens Jahrbücher 1885).

Veckenstedt: *Geschichte der griechischen Farbenlehre*, 1888 cc. 16, 17 and 30.

Dedekind: *Ein Beitrag zur Purpurkunde*, 1898 (known to me only through the review in *Literarisches Centralblatt*, November 1898).

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## ΧΑΩΡΗΙΣ.

The epithet *χλωρής* of the nightingale τ. 518 I should like to interpret 'songster'. The English and German name means 'the night-singer', and the last syllable is related to our *yell*, German *gellen* to resound, old German *galan* to sing, and also to *χελιδών*: cf. Skeat, and Kluge, *s. vv.*, and Fick I. 416. From *χελ-* would be formed first *\*χλωρό-*, in which *-λω-* represents a long sonant as in *βλωθ-ρό-*, *στρω-τό-* (cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss* I<sup>2</sup> p. 475), and thence a noun of action, the feminine of which would be our *χλωρής*. The masculine would exist in *χλωρεύς*, a bird of which we seem only to know that it was the enemy of certain birds (Arist. 609<sup>a</sup> 7, 25). In Hesychios we certainly find *χλωρεύς*: *όρνιθάριον χλωρόν* but this is quite likely to be merely a guess. Until a sure instance can be found of the termination *-εύς* being equivalent merely to *-ος* (as though *ιερεύς* should be no more than *ιερός*) such interpretations as 'brown bright' (Butcher and Lang's *Odyssey*), or 'supple-necked' or 'liquid-voiced' (see Marindin, *C. R.* 1898 Feb. p. 37), must surely remain improbable.

Aristotle vouches for the colour of the *χλωρίς* and *χλωρίων* (615<sup>b</sup> 32 ἡ δὲ *καλουμένη χλωρίς* διὰ τὰ κάτω ἔχειν ὁχρά, 617<sup>a</sup> 28 ὁ δὲ *χλωρίων χλωρὸς* ὅλος), and these words present no grammatical difficulty: cf. such a feminine as *'Αχαιής*, and *μαλακίων, δειλακρίων* (both given in L. S. from Aristophanes) beside *μαλακός, δειλακρός*, see Brugmann *Grundriss* II. p. 337. There is therefore no reason for separating these words from *χλωρός*. But we should perhaps separate the female name *Χλωρίς* from *χλωρός* green, and make it 'loud'. We find at least in Pausanias (see Pape-Benseler *Gr. Eigenn.* s.v. *Χλωρίς* 2)

a story that Melibœa daughter of Niobe turned pale at the death of her brothers and sisters and was therefore called Chloris. But rather Melibœa 'Sweet voiced' = Chloris 'Loud.' Another daughter of Niobe was called Melia, a short form of Melibœa, cf. Fick-Bechtel *Gr. Personennamen* p. 400. The story given by the scholiast on τ. 518 connects Niobe and her children with the story of Ἀηδών. Pape-Benseler mentions another Chloris, daughter of Pieros. This Pieros, whichever he may have been of the four that they give *l. l. s. v. Πίερος*, was connected with the Muses or Linos. Hence my interpretation is again suitable.

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OXFORD MSS. OF DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSEUS,  
DE COMPOSITIONE VERBORUM.

§ 1. UNTIL the end of this century the text of the 'rhetorica' of Dionysius was much neglected. The sober, if somewhat pedantic, judgments of the critic, are usually intelligible despite the corruptness of the text. So Reiske's edition has remained the standard edition until the publication, in this year, of the text of Radermaher and Usener<sup>1</sup>. Reiske's text had not a sufficient foundation in manuscript evidence. Before Reiske, Hudson did not possess a first-hand knowledge of the Paris MSS which he used, and did not collate Savile's transcript of the 'exemplar Dudithii'<sup>2</sup> with great diligence. Upton did a good deal for the explanation of the 'de compositione verborum.' Sylburg, who published his text and notes in 1586, greatly improved Dionysius' text, but he had none of the MSS at hand which are now chiefly valued. R. Stephanus (1547) and H. Stephanus (1554) contributed much to the improvement of the text. Their editions with those of Aldus Manutius (1508, 1513) and Victorius<sup>3</sup> (1581) are even now the foundation of the critical study of these rhetorical treatises.

§ 2. It is unfortunate that a complete edition of the 'rhetorica' of Dionysius, if designed, was never carried out by Petrus Victorius. Piero Vettori<sup>4</sup> was born July 3rd, 1499, and died December 18th, 1585. Among his pupils, friends and

<sup>1</sup> Opuscula, vol. i. Teubner 1899.  
Vol. ii. is not yet published.

<sup>2</sup> For the 'exemplar Dudithii' see  
Sadée, de Dionys. Hal. script. rhet.  
p. 6, n. 2. Usener *praef.* p. xxix.

<sup>3</sup> The *editio princeps* of the lives of

Isaeus and Deinarehus. Sylburg first  
published the 'de admirabili vi dicendi  
in Demosthene' and the 'de Thu-  
cydide.'

<sup>4</sup> See Rüdiger's monograph, Vic-  
torius aus Florenz, Halle (1896).

correspondents were most of the learned men in Italy, and many outside. Victorius had a wide knowledge of Greek and Roman Rhetoric. He edited Demetrius *περὶ ἐρμηνείας* in 1552, and Aristotle's Rhetoric in 1548. In these commentaries and in his 'Variae Lectiones' he shows an intimate acquaintance with the 'de compositione verborum' and the lives of Lysias and Isocrates. In the introductory chapter to his commentary on the Rhetoric he speaks in terms of praise of the rhetorical writings of Dionysius, then almost neglected. He is anxious to rescue them from an undeserved obscurity: *ut memoria huius erudit politique scriptoris cuius magnum nomen quondam fuit nunc obscurata renovetur ac studio meo illustretur*<sup>1</sup>. Victorius had access to two of the chief MSS of Dionysius, one now at Paris, another at Florence, where he lived. It was probably from the latter that he derived the passage which he quotes in the introduction to the Rhetoric from the life of Isaeus, at that time unpublished. He published the life of Isaeus with that of Deinarchus from the Florence MS in 1581. The manuscript of Victorius was sent to a pupil and relative Tebalducci Malespini<sup>2</sup> with a letter, asking him to see that it was carefully printed at Lyons, where Malespini was staying. Victorius wished these lives to be published, *ne hae quoque perirent quae in uno tantum uetusto exemplari apud nos leguntur, ut accepi a doctis uiris et ueteris memoriae amatoribus*. This 'exemplar' is Laur. LIX. 15. The Paris MS of Dionysius to which Victorius had access is Par. 1741. It was lent to him by Cardinal Rodulphi, when he was preparing his edition of the Rhetoric. It contains Demetrius *περὶ ἐρμηνείας*, and of Dionysius the 'de compositione verborum,' the second letter to Ammaeus, and the spurious 'ars rhetorica', besides other treatises of Rhetoric (Usener, p. vii.).

We have no lack of materials by which to judge of the methods of Victorius in verbal and textual criticism. With regard to the former, it is interesting to note that he tried, though vainly, to combat the prevalent neglect of Greek in

<sup>1</sup> This was perhaps written before the publication of the edition of R. Stephanus in 1547.

<sup>2</sup> Epistol. Vict. ix. 16 Petroantonio Theobalduecio Iacomino S. Florentia Kal. Dec. MDLXXX.

Italy. He sent his MS of the lives of Isaens and Deinarchus to Malespini at Lyons, to a country *in qua floret Graeca lingua et eruditio*. It was with sorrow that, as a concession to the weaker brethren who would only read Aristotle in Latin versions, he offered in his second edition of the Rhetoric a close translation. Readers of his commentaries, or of Rüdiger's monograph, will not need to be reminded of the importance which Victorius attached to the finding of Ciceronian equivalents for terms of Greek Rhetoric. His appeal is constantly to the 'rhetorica' of Cicero and to Quintilian's 'Institutio Oratoria', especially Bk. ix. chap. 4. His published and unpublished work is pervaded by this absorbing interest<sup>1</sup>. As to his critical methods<sup>2</sup>, we know that in editing Aeschylus he kept close to the Medicean MS, in editing the Rhetoric to Par. 1741, in editing the lives of Isaens and Deinarchus to Laur. LIX. 15. The marginal notes in his books are largely reports of readings of various MSS. This is the case with his copy of the Aldine Rethores Graeci of 1508. His marginal notes on the 'de compositione verborum', drawn from various MSS, were published in 1815 by F. Göller in his edition of the treatise. They have suggested many clues to those who have sought out the true text of Dionysius in this century. Victorius may even be said to have been the pioneer whose direction Hanow, Sadée and Usener have followed. It does not however appear that Victorius copied MSS himself; his practice was rather to jot down the principal readings in some MS or printed book with which he was working at the time when he had access to an important MS<sup>3</sup>.

§ 3. The MSS of Dionysius' 'rhetorica' in the Bodleian are

<sup>1</sup> Rüdiger, pp. 88—101. Victorius' modes of reference in his *anecdota* are well illustrated by his copy of the Aldine Rethores Graeci (1508). I owe to the kindness of Dr Franz Boll of Munich a photograph of f. 515<sup>r</sup> of this valuable book.

<sup>2</sup> Codex Barocc. xxii, in the Bodleian, contains many unpublished corrections by Victorius of the Aldine

edition (1503?) of Ammonius' commentary on the *περὶ ἐρμηνείας* and *κατηγορίας* of Aristotle.

<sup>3</sup> His diligence was unusual; he often copied out chapters or sections of authors. See Hardt's Catal. cod. Mon. Compare also Munro, Lucretius vol. i. p. 11, where it should be noticed that Vettori's books came from Rome to Munich in 1780.

all late. But one of them is unusually interesting. In 1817, just after the publication of Göller's edition of the 'de compositione verborum', there came to the Bodleian, in the Canonici collection (no. 45), a small *quarto* paper MS of this treatise. It is a copy made at some time in the xvith century, probably after 1560. It is based on the Florentine MS with *variae lectiones* and marginal notes<sup>1</sup>. It has not the appearance of being a mechanical copy: rather it seems to be the work of a scholar who was conversant with the MSS of the treatise and, while he was aware of the importance of the Florentine MS, saw that in many cases it needed to be corrected<sup>2</sup>. The marginal notes are supplied by one who quotes Cicero, Quintilian, Virgil, Horace, Donatus on Terence, Terentianus de metris, Demetrius, Strabo, and Dionysius' life of Isocrates.

The only other MS of the entire treatise is a xvth century MS ('olim Saibantius' Miscell. 230). It contains also, with other 'rhetorica', the 'Ars Rhetorica' and the letter to Ammaeus about Thucydides. This MS I propose to call S<sup>b</sup>. There is a MS of the Epitome of the treatise of no value (Misc. 160 = E<sup>b</sup>). To these should be added a MS of Thucydides which contains the letter to Ammaeus (Canon. 48) and a transcript of the 'exemplar Dudithii' made in 1581 by<sup>3</sup> or for Sir Henry Savile, important as containing the life of Deinarchus. This MS (Misc. Gr. 36) is the 'Bodleianus' of Hudson. But it is only with MSS of the 'de compositione verborum' that I propose here to deal.

<sup>1</sup> Some of these, referring to Cicero's 'rhetorica' by Boulier's edition of 1562, are later than the others. The handwriting is larger and shakier, and *may* not be that of the first annotator. One note which is certainly written by the maker of this transcript refers to an edition of Strabo (in 1517), another to the edition of Demetrius *πεπλέπυνετας* by Victorius, another to an edition of the letters to Atticus probably not earlier than 1560.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Reiske, p. 114, 7, Vettori's '1' omits *διξιματικολ...δια ταῦτα*, but

the Canonici MS does not.

<sup>3</sup> The writing resembles that in Savile's books, e.g. the Aldine Ammonius of 1503, where in one case Savile says of a comment of Ammonius 'a peese of information little to the purpose.' For Dudithius, see Draseowith's vita and Becker de adm. vi die, p. xlix, n. 87. He was a pupil of P. Manutius. He visited Florence in 1558 and probably then procured a transcript of the 'vita Dinarchi', and perhaps other parts of Dionysius. Savile's copy of the 'de Thucydide'

§ 4. The classification of the MSS of this treatise has been most ably treated by Usener in his *Index Scholarum Bonnensium* (1878). In this monograph he edited the fourteenth chapter with an elaborate *apparatus criticus*. His aim was to show the substantial agreement of the Florentine MS (F) with the tradition of the Epitome and the text of the chapter as quoted in the *scholia* on Hermogenes *περὶ ἴδεων*<sup>1</sup>. At the same time Usener drew attention to the difference between F and Rodulphi's *Codex*, his P. The evidence afforded by this one chapter allowed him to group the MSS of this treatise about F and P. But one fact must be kept in mind. F had lost a *quaternio* of leaves<sup>2</sup>, which contained the end of the 'de compositione verborum' and the beginning of the 'de oratoribus antiquis'. F's tradition ends abruptly at the words *μνστηρίοις μὲν οὖν*, in Reiske's text p. 194, v. 5. Of course it was Usener's desire to find somewhere the Florentine tradition for the last pages of the treatise. The leaves were missing when Victorius copied the readings of F into his Aldine *Rhetores Graeci*. It seems that they were missing as early as the year 1269. There seems to be no MS known to be mediately or immediately derived from F when it was complete<sup>3</sup>. Even the Epitome can hardly be proved to rest on a complete MS of this family, though it naturally would, and probably did, preserve one tradition to the end. It becomes meagre toward the close of the treatise, and has few, if any, readings peculiar to itself<sup>4</sup>.

§ 5. As far, then, as p. 194, v. 5 *μνστηρίοις μὲν οὖν* the 'de compositione verborum' is preserved in two families of MSS, F and P. After that point, beside the P family, we can only rely on (1) the Epitome, and the *marginalia* of Victorius, (2) the readings of the Milan MS of the 'de admirabili vi dicendi in Demosthene' in a few places where the later treatise

was made in 1581, when Dudithius was living at Breslau.

<sup>1</sup> Walz. *Rhet.* vii. 965, 2—969, 19. A Bodleian MS of these *Scholia* (Misc. 268) substantially agrees with Usener's R for this chapter.

<sup>2</sup> Sadée, p. 82.

<sup>3</sup> Usener, I.S.B. pp. viii—xiii. *praef.* (1899) p. xi.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. 208, 3 *μηδὲν <ηβουλήθη> κτλ.* explaining the infinitives which follow in the MSS, as in *Can. (C)*, *S<sup>b</sup>*.

repeats the actual words of the earlier<sup>1</sup>. The P family is, however, not quite harmonious, and seems to contain two groups, in one of which the tradition approaches more nearly that of F. Usener has selected some Paris MSS, 1797, 1798, 1799, to exhibit the peculiar features of this group. To it also he refers the 'p' of Victorius' margin<sup>2</sup>. It may be called the Pp group, and distinguished from P itself and the MSS like Usener's G and the Oxford S<sup>b</sup><sup>3</sup>, which may be called conveniently the Pg group for the purpose of this paper.

§ 6. When the Florentine tradition breaks off abruptly at p. 194, v. 5, the writer of the Canonici MS goes steadily on his way without marking the place where the break occurs. Only in the margin the sign  $\div$ , used often by the annotator where he adds cross references to various parts of the treatise or explains a hard word, is placed without comment<sup>4</sup>. It may seem strange that the writer of the MS did not, as Victorius did in his margin, distinctly mention where the Florentine tradition ends. A common scribe, set down to copy F, would almost certainly have marked this terminus of his labours. It might therefore be thought that the MS is not directly copied from F. Until we have Usener's collation of F, it would be rash to pronounce that C is immediately derived from F<sup>5</sup>. But its close resemblance to F in c. XIV (where we have the benefit of Usener's collation) leaves hardly any room for doubt. It agrees more than 100 times with F against P, some 20 times with F alone, never with P alone; where it differs from F it usually agrees with the MSS of the Epitome or the *scholia* on Hermogenes<sup>6</sup>. The omission of the writer to make a distinct

<sup>1</sup> I once hoped that C would supply the tradition of F or its 'gemellus' for these pages.

<sup>2</sup> Index Schol. Bonn. p. xii. n. 13.

<sup>3</sup> S<sup>b</sup> resembles G in c. xiv, the ode of Sappho, and the end of the treatise (R. 194, 5 *ad fin.*). It may be neglected; Usener I.S.B. p. iv. *praef.* p. x.

<sup>4</sup> The MS has been cut down in binding, but it seems that no note was made in this case.

<sup>5</sup> R. 107, 11 *διακεκόλασται* LC;

113, 13 *ὑπειχθην* 1, *ὑπέιχθην* C corr.;

157, 7  $\tau\ddot{\alpha}$   $\epsilon\pi\iota$   $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$   $\sigma\iota\pi\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\alpha$  FC.

<sup>6</sup> The writer of C had other MSS at hand (*infra* § 8) and the Aldine edition of 1508. There are 'proprieti errores' in C, e.g. c. xiv, v. 6 (by Usener's edition)  $\mu\epsilon\nu$   $\tau\omega\phi\omega\eta\epsilon\pi\tau\omega$  C: v. 48  $\delta\eta\lambda\omega\tau\chi\omega$  C. Also v. 62 *kal* before  $\delta\sigma\iota\gamma\mu\omega$  is omitted in C. The other places where C and F do not agree are v. 7  $\mu\sigma\gamma\mu\omega$  REC,  $\mu\gamma\mu\omega$  F; v. 14  $\delta\epsilon$

note of the break in the Florentine tradition may be explained by his having noticed it elsewhere, or by his knowing the fact too well for it to be necessary for him to record it. The text of the last pages of the treatise is founded on the Aldine edition and a MS of the Pp group. But there are a few readings, even here, which seem to have some better authority. These might be derived from a MS of the Epitome or from one resembling the 'v' of Victorius. For instance 195, 8 *μοῦσαν*] *οἶμαι* E C Vict. 'v' and 196, 17 *κατὰ στίχον*] *καὶ κατὰ στίχον* E C corr. Vict. 'v'. The writer of the MS clearly changed his plan in constructing his text. At first he preserved the Aldine tradition, improving it from MS sources. He may have thought it simpler to found his text on a MS which, if faulty, was complete. He used the Florentine readings as variants. Thus his first *varia lectio* is the first reading which Victorius reported from F in his Aldine Rethores. But after a few pages, not always quite consistently, he began to make the Florentine text his own, and he treated other readings, which may usually be termed vulgate, as variants<sup>1</sup>. These variants are not, it seems, variants derived from F itself, but from other MSS. Certainly we may say they are not wholly taken from the editions of Manutius or Stephanus. The selection of them is somewhat arbitrary, but illustrates, on the whole, very fairly the difference between the P tradition and that of F and the Epitome.

§ 7. From what has been said it will be gathered that the writer of C used (1) the Aldine Rethores Graeci of 1508, (2) Laur. LIX. 15, (3) a MS of the Pp group, (4) possibly the 'v' of Victorius or a MS of the Epitome. It is quite clear that he worked at his copy at different times. The identity of the hand is plain; the writing has a well-marked style. Temporary circumstances, such as a new pen or fresh ink, cause the aspect of the writing to vary from time to time. Careful consideration

ἐκφωνεῖται REC, δ' ἐκφωνεῖται F; v. 32  
 τε τοῦ] τὸ F, τοῦ REC; v. 34 στρογγυλι-  
 ἔται REC, στρογγυλλιέται F; v. 76 δὲ  
 after φιλότητι om. C. v. 81 τοῦ φάρυγ-  
 γος REC, τῆς φάρυγγος F; v. 66 δὴ F,  
 om. RC; 72 βῆ καὶ τὸ γῆ καὶ δὲ F, βῆ καὶ τὸ

γῆ καὶ τὸ δὲ RC.

<sup>1</sup> Various readings are introduced by σ, mere corrections without this sign. This distinction is made constantly but not invariably.

of the handwriting leads me to ascribe almost all the variants and corrections to the writer of the MS<sup>1</sup>. His practice seems to have been this. Each new day when he went to work he revised what he had last written and added various readings and references, if they had not been inserted already. Despite the care with which the work is done, the MS is not of much value as a presentation of the Florentine tradition, since F exists and the writer of C is rather a *διασκευαστής* than a copyist. But the interest of the MS is antiquarian and bibliographical. Who was the scholar who preserved with so much care the Medicean tradition for the 'de compositione verborum'? It was unknown to Stephanus and Sylburg<sup>2</sup>. Who at the end of the xvith century had so large an *apparatus criticus*? Why did this text of the 'de compositione verborum' never find its way to the press? It is not easy to answer these questions for many reasons. Firstly, it is unsafe to trust the indexes of books of this date. No one would gather from the indexes of the books of Victorius the extent of his acquaintance with the 'rhetorica' of Dionysius<sup>3</sup>. Secondly, there are doubtless many unpublished letters of this period where a clue may be found<sup>4</sup>. It is certainly not a little regrettable that a contribution to the text of this treatise, which would have anticipated Göller's information by 200 years, was neglected. The text it presents differs so strikingly from the vulgate.

§ 8. In seeking to determine the authorship of this MS, we can learn a good deal from the marginal notes. These are not merely corrections of the errors of the first hand and reports of various readings. A few notes are palaeographical. They concern the following tachygraphical signs (1) *όμοίως*, *ꝝ*

<sup>1</sup> Certainly also one reference to Cicero; R 41. 5 *λεπυρθήσει*: 'unde ἀφίδρυμα situs et statua, Cice: ad Att.<sup>324</sup> ad id autem quod uolumus ἀφίδρυμα.' This reference is most probably to Boulier's edition of 1562, a rare book. See §§ 9, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Sylburg had, of course, the 'exemplar Dudithii' for his edition. The life of Deinarchus rests solely on Laur.

LIX. 15; cf. Sadée p. 7, Usener *praef.* xxix.

<sup>3</sup> I have collected some 50 references from his notes on the third book of Aristotle's Rhetoric, and many from his Demetrius. See also 'Variae Lectiones' pp. 34, 145, 262 etc.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. the vast collection of letters to Vettori in the British Museum, used by Nohlac and Rüdiger.

(2)  $\delta\tau\alpha\nu$   $\rho'$  (C mg  $\Omega$ , perhaps  $\delta\tau\epsilon$ ), (3)  $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\nu$   $\dot{\gamma}\acute{\iota}$ , (4)  $\dot{\phi}$ , interpreted as  $\dot{\omega}\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\omega$  by Victorius. H. Stephanus pointed out in his *Schediasmata* (II. 14) the places where the Aldine editor blundered over the sign for  $\dot{\omega}\mu\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$ . In C, as far as the Florentine tradition goes, no mistake is made. The contraction evidently only occurred in a MS of the P family, or only there was liable to be mistaken. The writer of C (p. 41, v. 2) gives  $\dot{\omega}\mu\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$ , where Victorius gives  $\dot{\omega}\mu\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$  from his 'l'; there is a marginal note:—P  $\dot{\omega}$  in quodam manuscripto codice loco huius ( $\dot{\omega}\mu\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$ ) reposita erat haec nota sic.  $\dot{\phi}$  quae id ualebat. This shows that he had at least one MS before him besides F, and like the MS used by Aldus Manutius it had the tachygraphical sign for  $\dot{\omega}\mu\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$ <sup>1</sup>. On p. 207, 3  $\dot{\omega}\mu\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$  is given where  $\delta\tau\alpha\nu$  is the Vulgate reading. The margin of C gives  $\delta\tau\alpha\nu$  with the sign  $\Omega$ <sup>2</sup>. Twice the sign for  $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\nu$  is given without comment (112, 3 and 143, 5), a tacit correction and explanation of the errors of Aldus Manutius. Lastly, in three cases where  $\dot{\omega}\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\omega$  should be read, with Victorius, the sign has been commonly interpreted as  $\dot{\omega}\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$  or  $\dot{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\omega$ . Twice  $\dot{\omega}\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\omega$  is the marginal reading of C (196, 4 and 202, 2), according with the corrections in the margin of Victorius' Aldine. Once (205, 8), where  $\dot{\omega}\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\omega$  is given in the text, a variant  $\dot{\omega}\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\alpha\nu$  is introduced in the margin with the sign c., meaning doubtless a MS<sup>3</sup> like that used by Stephanus, or even like S<sup>b</sup>.

Some notes by the writer of the MS refer to his authorities for the text. If I may safely infer from Göttsche's notes that in R. 43, 1  $\sigma\iota\pi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\phi\alpha\varsigma$  was not corrected by Victorius from 'l,' the following note in the margin of C *may* refer to F:  $\sigma\iota\pi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\phi\alpha\varsigma$  ( $\sigma\iota\pi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\phi\alpha\varsigma$  C) quamuis in manuscripto legatur  $\delta\iota\alpha\tau\theta\dot{\phi}$  mendose quidem. Again in the previous paragraph I have shown that 'quidam manuscriptus codex' refers not to F but to some other MS. Once again R 171, 14 where  $o\dot{u}$ , not  $o\acute{u}$ , is the true reading, but the Aldine edition has  $o\acute{u}$  (and so C and

<sup>1</sup> Wattenbach, *Anleit. zu Gr. Pal.* p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> R 1111, 15  $\delta\tau\epsilon$   $\gamma\acute{\iota}\rho\acute{\iota}\phi\varsigma$  Ambros. cod. M.  $\delta\tau\epsilon$   $\gamma\acute{\iota}\rho\acute{\iota}\phi\varsigma$  Savile's transcript, with the note 'fortasse  $\delta\tau$ '  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\iota}\rho\acute{\iota}\phi\varsigma$ '.

<sup>3</sup> Not a correction or conjecture probably. I must acknowledge the kindness of Prof. Bywater and Mr W. M. Lindsay in suggesting explanations of these signs.

probably F), Victorius in his margin says 'γρ. οὐ R': R is the sign of some manuscript<sup>1</sup>. The writer of C has this note:— quamquam in manuscripto et excuso codice οὐ negativa particula sit, P. tamen auctore generandi casus esse debet hic οὐ. P is evidently some scholar, perhaps the possessor of a manuscript of the epitome<sup>2</sup>. On p. 72, 10 where the vulgate reading is τοτὲ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀνομοίων, τοτὲ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὄμοιγενῶν, both F and C read τοτὲ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὄμοίων γενῶν, τοτὲ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀνομοιογενῶν. Victorius corrected ὄμοίων γενῶν: 'puto ὄμοιογενῶν.' In the margin of C the note is P.c. ὄμοιογενῶν<sup>3</sup>. Of seven readings introduced in the margin by the sign c, it is doubtful if any lacks MS authority. Thus p. 205, 1 τὸν...συγκείμενον is probably not a conjecture<sup>4</sup> of Victorius, for it is the reading of S<sup>5</sup>. Again, p. 184, 4 εἰ δέ τινι for εἰ δέ ἔτι μοι has the support of the MS in the parallel passage of the 'de admirabili ui dicendi in Demosthene' (R. 1116, 9). One slight correction (203, 2) introduced by u.<sup>6</sup>, λαμβέλον for λάμβιον, is also made in the margin of Victorius. But the word is found so spelt and accented in MSS of the Epitome.

§ 9. Finally, some of the marginal notes give references to illustrative passages either in this treatise or in other parts of Greek and Roman literature. Of course any editor of the 'de compositione verborum' has to supply many references, because Dionysius quotes freely from Greek literature. But these

<sup>1</sup> Vettori's R might be identified, because it omits (R 58, 2 and 59, 1) οὐτε ἐπιτελεῖται...επι τὸ δέν.

<sup>2</sup> In Victorius' Pindar 'P' stands for Petrus Candidus. See Thiersch, Ast. Phil. Mon. 1812. Victorius corresponded with Thomas Rehdiger who possessed a copy of the Epitome. Passow, Opusc. Acad. 1835.

<sup>3</sup> The letters P.c probably denote the MS possessed by some town or scholar. In this case any MS of the Epitome would have the readings δμοιογενῶν and ἀνομοιογενῶν. The correction is clearly made by some scholar who had an *apparatus criticus* similar to

that of Victorius. I do not know if Victorius had access to a MS of the Epitome. There is a list of these in Hanow's edition (1868), obviously incomplete.

<sup>4</sup> Göller reports from Victorius' margin 'γρ. τὸν...συγκείμενον', and it is noted that διοίσει γάρ οὐδέν (205, 3) is thrown into a parenthesis. The sign γρ. is used by Victorius sometimes to introduce a *varia lectio*.

<sup>5</sup> Prof. Bywater suggests that 'u' might stand for Urbinas. There is a *Codex Urbinas* of the Epitome: cf. Hanow.

references in C are too vague to afford any clue to the authorship of the MS. A brief mention must be made of the many purely gratuitous illustrations which are collected in the margin of C. Firstly there are not a few cross-references made to various parts of the treatise. These draw attention to the recurrence of a word or thought. In principle these correspond with the cross-references in the Aldine of Victorius. The words which attracted the attention of the annotator are:—*ἀκολούθια, ἀλογος, ἀσημος, διαβεβηκέναι, κατακεκλάσθαι, παραπλήρωμα, περιφέρεια, συμβολαι, συνεξέσθαι*. These words are evidently selected for their importance in the lexicography of Rhetoric. Secondly there are numerous references to the 'rhetorica' of Cicero by the pages of Boulier's edition of 1562<sup>1</sup>, published at Lyons. These references are supplied by a larger and less firm hand than that of the writer of the critical notes. It seems to be not unlikely that the writer himself added these at a later time<sup>2</sup>. The only reference which I have *seen* to Cicero in Victorius' Aldine, that on f. 515, is by his own edition (Venice, Juntae 1537). But the principle of the references in that book is clearly the same as that of those in C. Victorius in his Demetrius observes how Dionysius in this treatise 'tangit multas quaestiones quae a M. Cicerone sedulo in suo illo aureolo libello (i.e. Bruto) explicantur. And two Munich MSS (752, 753) containing the Orator and de Oratore are fitted up with Greek notes drawn from Demetrius and Dionysius. It is worth noting that almost all the illustrations from Cicero in the margin of C are to be found in the commentaries of Victorius. Thus in the Demetrius (pp. 11, 19, 202) Ciceronian renderings of *περίοδος* are given. All these passages are collected in the margin of C. Similar agreement will be found in the notes on *πραγματεία*, 'Cice: fortasse scriptionem...expressit', cf. Rhet. pp. 8 and 15: or *παραπληρώματα* 'complementa verborum' (Cic. Orator, § 230), used also in the Demetrius p. 54. But specially

<sup>1</sup> Evidently a convenient, though not a valuable, edition. There is a fine copy of the 'rhetorica' in the British Museum. I have not seen Boulier's edition of the letters to Atticus.

<sup>2</sup> If I am right in conjecturing that the reference to Cic. ad Att. xiii. 28 (see p. 73, n. 1) is by the page of Boulier's edition, then all the references are made by the same annotator.

remarkable are the illustrations of Dionysius' favourite appeal in matters of literary taste to the *κοινὴ* or *ἀλογος αἰσθησις*. In his Variae Lectiones (xiii. c. vi.) Victorius quotes Orator § 203 sed aures ipsae tacito quodam sensu definiunt, and illustrates a passage of the 'de compositione verborum' (88, 1) by it. The margin of C there supplies the quotation from Cicero. Again, where Dionysius (p. 146, 14) uses Pindar's words *δίχα μοι νόος ἀτρέκειαν εἰπεῖν*, the note in C is 'Cice: ad Attic. lib. xiii.<sup>200</sup> quae uerba Pindari sunt.' Victorius in his Variae Lectiones (xxxi. c. 29), discussing the passage in the letters to Atticus (xiii. 38), first discovered the author of the quotation. A few other examples might be given of passages from Cicero's 'rhetorica' and Quintilian Bk. IX. chap. 4<sup>1</sup> quoted both by Victorius and the annotator of C. Thus in the Demetrius *κεκλάσθαι* is illustrated by Quintilian's fractus incessus (v. 9. 14); and so *διακεκλάσθαι* in the margin of C (p. 107, 11). I will add one curious agreement. In a letter of 1581 to Baccius Valorius, Victorius prefers accurate to exacte as a rendering of *ἀκριβῶς*<sup>2</sup>. The annotator of C catches up (R p. 73, 5) the word and says: Sic Cice: exquisite uel accurate (Brutus § 277). The remaining illustrations are from Demetrius *περὶ ἐρμηνείας* (once) by the page of Victorius' edition, from Strabo (once) by the page of the Aldine edition of 1517 which he used and annotated, and from Donatus on Terence by Stephanus' edition of 1536.

§ 10. When we consider that Victorius' own work so exactly resembles that of the annotator of this Manuscript, and that the notes in C, about fifty in all, are to be found scattered over his published books; that the editions used by the annotator of it in two cases at least are those used by Victorius; and that the critical apparatus of the writer of C seems to be

<sup>1</sup> Victorius used the Aldine Quintilian (1514) when he annotated his Aldine Rethores. This I learn from Dr Franz Boll. The references in C are probably to the pages of an *octavo*, published between 1540 and 1580. Quint. v. 9 § 14 should agree with

p. 133, 5. and ix. 4 § 80 with p. 275, 29.

<sup>2</sup> In 1584 Valorius consulted Victorius about the proper rendering of *ἀκριβεῖα* in Aristotle. See MS letters in the Vettori correspondence in the British Museum.

like his, if not quite so extensive, it might seem possible to suppose that this MS is a revision by Victorius of his materials for a text of the treatise, made at some time after 1560. But it must be considered that in one case at least, p. 204, 8, where C has the false reading *ἀναλύεσθαι* with an asterisk, this revision would be a retrogression. Then certainly the handwriting of the MS does not resemble that of Victorius in his Aldine margin or in his Lexicon, kindly lent me by the Royal Library at Munich. Dr Franz Boll, to whom I sent a photograph of one page of the manuscript, wrote to me as follows: 'Leider darf man wohl mit aller Sicherheit sagen, dass P. Victorius der Schreiber nicht gewesen ist'. He adds 'Mir scheint übrigens die griechische Schrift der Randnoten, so weit die eine Seite ein Urtheil erlaubt, durchaus dieselbe zu sein wie die im Text... Um so bedauerlicher ist es, dass er nicht zu ermitteln ist. Wir besitzen Autographa noch von drei andern Gelehrten, die sich im 16. Jahrhundert mit Dionysios von Halikarnass abgegeben haben, nämlich von Aem. Portus, Fr. Sylburg und Joh. Sturm, aber keiner von ihnen scheint, nach der Schrift zu urtheilen, Ihren Codex angefertigt zu haben'. Dr Boll's conclusion is fully confirmed by the evidence of an autograph letter of Victorius in the British Museum addressed to Jo. Camerarius, where some few sentences of Greek are quoted. We cannot therefore ascribe the text or marginal notes in C to Victorius. Though the MS proves not to be his work in this sense, may it not be his in another sense? May not Victorius have inspired it? His spirit pervades the notes. It represents a deliberate preference of the Florentine tradition of the treatise, but shows considerable discrimination in certain places. Bergk in his *Lyric Poets* evidently did not agree with Usener in the value to be assigned to F's readings for Pindar. For Dionysius, anyone who reads the account of the three Harmonies in Göller's text will see at once that F's tradition, though interesting and valuable, is by no means always sound. In some cases, unless the readings of F can be proved to represent the archetype of P and F more closely than those of P do, they will certainly leave a suspicion of systematic corruption which will detract from the authority of F. All

students of this treatise must await with interest Usener's discussion of this point. To Sadée and Usener students of the Rhetorica of Dionysius owe more than they can hope to repay. With their names must now be joined that of Radermacher.

A. B. POYNTON.

## APPENDIX.

### SOME READINGS OF MS CANONICI 45.

A. 1, 1—7, 2. C resembles the Aldine text, but has a few Florentine variants.

Reiske V, p. 1, 1 Δ in *mg.* Ωροντοι C . . . τοι] τοι καὶ C  
 2, 2 ἡδίστην] *deest* 9 ὠφέλιμον] ὠφέλιμοι C 10 δη] *deest*  
 3, 2 Μελίτιε] Μετίλιε C  
 4, 7 πολιαῖς] *deest* κατηρτυμένης] κεκοσμημένης C 8 γνῶσις]  
*inest* 11 φιλότιμον καὶ] *desunt* 12 πέφυκε] πεφυκός, συνν θεῦ C  
 12 οὐχ ἥπτον] *desunt*  
 5, 2 ἐπὶ τοῦτον *desunt* 6 χρήσεσθαι] χρήσασθαι C 8 εἰδὴ, σ  
*supra scr. m<sup>1</sup>* 9 πρῶτον] *deest* συμβάλλομαι] C *mg.* συμ-  
 βαλλομ<sup>2</sup>  
 6, 1 τὸ] τὸν C 2 οὐκ] *inest*, *mg. corr.* 3 διαλεκτικᾶς] *ita* C  
*mg.*: λεκτικὰς C 16 τίνω] τίνα C  
 7, 2 τίς ἐκάστης χαρακτὴρ] *ita* C: *sed mg.* καὶ τίνες ἐκάστης χα-  
 ρακτῆρες, *ita* Victorii L αὐτῶν] αὐτῶν C *mg. add.* εἴναι, *ita* L

B. 7, 6—194, 6. C and F agree, but C has some readings not mentioned by Victorius in his notice of the readings of F (his I) in the margin of his copy of the Aldine Rethores Graeci 1508<sup>1</sup>.

7, 11 ἡ σύνθεσίς, *om.* δὲ, Vict. *mg.* C ἔστιν] ἔστι μὲν Vict. *mg*  
*ιστιν* C. 12 παράλληλα C

<sup>1</sup> For Victorius' reports of L or I see Göller's edition. C has all the readings of 1, except where discrepancies are here recorded.

8, 5 μετὰ τούτους Vict. *mg.* C 10 ἀντωνυμίας] ἀντονομασίας  
 Vict. *mg.* In C *mg.* p. 13 (Reisk 37, 12) ἀντονομασίας, aut hoc  
 nomen huius scriptoris proprium est aut ἀντωνυμία legi debet.  
 12 διεῖλον] Vict. *mg.* et C *mg.* διελόντες

9, 2 τῶν] deest 4 οὐ μικρὸς] ita C *sed mg.* πολὺς *cum F*  
 17 ἡγήσεται C<sup>9</sup>

10, 6 αἱ περὶ] ἐπὶ C 7 λαμβάνονται] λαμβάνοντιν C 8 οἰ-  
 κοδομική C *om.* τε, *sed cum lit.* fortasse 2 *litt.* 9 ὁμογενεῖς C *post*  
*corr.* ἐκλεκτικὸς C *-ων add. m. recentior*

11, 8 περιθέντες] F'C, ἀποδόντες F *corr.* Vict. 'L' 10 ἡδέως]  
 ἡδέως C

12, 2 ἀποδόσηγ C 4 τίς] τῆς C 6 φάσιν, ἀναπόδεικτον C :  
 cf. Ar. Eth. Nic. 1143<sup>b</sup>. 12 7 κρεῖττον] καὶ κρεῖττον Vict. *mg.* C  
 12 δ] deest: *suppl. mg.* Vict.

13, 1 πράγματα (*ante corr.*) C; *τοχ* λιτὰ καὶ, *aliter* Vict. 'L' *ut vid.*  
 4 δῖος] θεῖος C 6 ἐκπέμψαντε C

14, 5 ἐνι] ἐπὶ C 7 ἄντιον C 11 ἥπτων C 15 ὡς ἔγω  
 πείθομαι] *desunt, suppl. C mg.*<sup>9</sup>

15, 1 τε] deest 3 ὥραν C 6 εἰσὶν εὐγενεῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς C  
 8 διάλεκτος οὐδεμίᾳ] *verso ordine C* 9 οὔτε] η C

16, 1 καὶ] ἥδη καὶ C διάλεκτον] C *mg.*<sup>9</sup> διάλεκτον 2 τοῦτο...  
 τὸ πάθος C 4 μεγάλας ἥδονάς καὶ χάριτας γίγνεσθαι C 6 καλεῖ,  
 Μυρσίλον δε] *desunt* 8 τίνα] *post αὐτοῦ C* 10 Γύγης ἥν· τὸ δὲ]  
*desunt*

17, 3 Ἀττῖδα γλῶσσαν C

18, 1 τὰ deest 2 τυγχάνει] ὑπάρχει C 4 μέγα] deest  
 4 λόγον λέγεις C

19, 2 ἐν τόδε ἔστιν C 3 εἶναι απέ πασῶν γυναικῶν C  
 4 χρῆσιν] δεῖσθαι C 7 λέγω λόγον τόνδε C. *mg.* λέγω apud  
 Herodotum non inuenitur. μή τι] μή τοι C 12 καὶ] deest  
 14 ἐκδῆσα] *post ἱματίων Vict. non ita C* 17 μελέτω σοι C  
 18 διαφυγεῖν] ita C Vict. *mg.* 19 οὐδὲ] οὐδὲν C

20, 3 φύσις] η φύσις C 5 δῆπον] δὲ δῆπον C 8 περιπτὸν  
 οὐδὲ σεμνὸν C 12 ἥν<sup>9</sup>] deest 14 αἰσθηταί τις C

21, 2 πρῶτον] ita C. *mg.*<sup>9</sup> πρῶτα μὲν, *sed eras.* πρῶτα 6 ἄριτται]  
 ἄροιτο 7 ἥρωϊκὸν] ἥρων C, *mg.*<sup>9</sup> ἥρωικόν

22, 3 προσωδικοὺς] προσωδιακοὺς C, Vict. *mg.* 5 η τ]<sup>9</sup> ita C,  
 ηκεὶ 1' 7 ὑπό τινων δὲ ιθυφάλλια] διφύλλια, *suppl. mg.* ὑπό τινων  
 ιθυφάλλια[α] *ante διφύλλια* 9 οὐ βέβηλος] ita C. *sed mg.*<sup>9</sup> add. συμ-  
 [βέβηλος]

23, 1 ἐργασίης] C *mg.* ἐργασίας, *sed* εὐργεσίης C 4 μέλος] γένος  
C 8, 9 *desunt*, *spatio relicto satis idoneo*

24, 1 νέκνες] νέκυς C 2 τύχεα C 8 τε] *deest* 11 χρώματα] ὄνόματα C 12 ἀλλ' ἀναγκασθήσομαι] ἀναγκασθήσομαι δὲ C  
14 καὶ] *deest*, *suppl.* ex 1 Vict.

25, 1 τὰ] *deest* 8 ἦ] *deest*

26, 3 ἐπει]

27, 1 ἐναγώγιον C 4 Παφλαγόνων καὶ Συρῶν C 7 ἐσπλέοντι  
C, Vict. *mg.* 10 αὐτῇ] *ita* C 15 τοῦτο *ante* τὸ σχῆμα C

28, 1 ἀγενῆς *hic et ubique* C 4 εἰς] ἐς C, *mg.* Vict. θηβαίον C  
*ante corr.* 5 Διόνυσος] *sine interpunctione* C 7 τῶν] *deest*

8 φανερὸν πεποιηκέναι C 9, 10 οὐδοκεῖ τις ἀμαρτεῖν C, Vict. *mg.*  
12 μικρὸν καὶ ῥυτον C

29, 1 ἡδὲ] καὶ C, *mg.* Παρέλκει 2 ράνδω C 3 θῆκεν ἰδέοντα] C *mg.* παρέλκει, *cf.* *mg.* Vict. 7 καὶ ταπεινὰ καὶ πτωχὰ C  
9 τούτῳ] τοῦτο ἦν δὲ C, *mg.* σχεδὸν *post* ἦν 10 τῷ] τὸ C

30, 1 δέ] δὲν C 2 τι] *ita* C, Vict. *mg.* 6 καλανδιαν (sic)  
7 Ἡγησίαν Μάγνητα] ἡγησιάνακτα C, Vict. *mg.* (?) 8 εἰ *ante* τὰ  
ὄνόματα C

31, 2 τῷ...Στωϊκοῦ] *ita* C *mg.* 3 τούτου] *ita* C *mg.*: τοῦτο C  
4 ἀφονίᾳ χείρονι C 6 αὐτῶν] *ita* C *mg.*: αὐτῷ C 8 τέχνας]  
τέχνας γε C 8 ἔγραψαν C 9 πολλοὶ ἢ μᾶλλον] πολύ τι C  
10 ἀπεπλάγχθησαν C 12 ἐγώ γοῦν ὅτε ἔγνων C 15 τόπουν] *ita*  
0 *mg.*: λόγου C ποιουμένους C 17 ὑπὲ οὐδενὸς εὐρῶν τῶν]  
ιερημένον ὑπὸ οὐδενὸς αὐτῆς ὅρῶν τῶν γοῦν C

32, 1 συναχθεῖ] *deest* 3 συντάξεως] *ita* C 6 συντάξεως] τὸ  
τὸ C 10 ἦ] καὶ C 14 αὐτῇ] αὐτῇ C Vict. *mg.*

33, 1 τινι] μοι C, προχωρεῖν C 3 προύθέμην] *ita* C *mg.*: *add.*  
προενόμην C 1 4 κωλύσει C, Vict. *mg.* 5 παρελθεῖν] C *mg.*  
προελθεῖν 6 μὴ] *deest* 10 ἡγούμην] πρώτα ἡξίουν C, Vict. *mg.*  
πρῷ] *deest* 11 οὐσίαν] *ita* C *sed* *mg.* αἰτίαν 12 τῇ φύσει]  
*deunt*, *suppl.* *mg.*

34, 3 παράσχοι τις ἀν C 4 ἐναντίως συντεταγμένα] *desunt*,  
*suppl.* *mg.* 7 μεν] μοι C 8 καὶ *deest* 9 Ἀχιλλεὺς C  
10 ἡμάτα] τὰ ἡμάτα C 11 ὑποτέτακται] ἐπεται C  
τεύγην C 12 δὲ] *deest* 13 πρότερα τάττειν] προτάττειν C,  
Vict. *mg.* 13 πρότερον ἐστι] ἐστι πρότερον C

35, 3 καὶ] *deest*, *cf.* *mg.* Vict. 8 γὰρ] γὰρ δὴ C, Vict. *mg.*  
τῶν] ἄμα τῶν C 9 οὐκ] *om.* *suppl.* *mg.*

36, 3 τι χείρω Ο 4 *post ρημάτων add.* Ο ούδεις ἀν εἴποι cf. *mg.*  
 Vict. 5 ψυχην Ο 6 τῇ τάξει καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις Ο 7 ταῦτα Ο  
 12 νὴ δία φαῖη τις ἀν εἴ γε μὴ ἀλλὰ ἦν πολλὰ Ο

37, 1 ἦ] ἦν Ο *mg.* 3 πλῆξε δ' Ο 6 ἡλασε δ' Ο 8 προσ-  
 ἡκει] προσῆκει Ο, η *in ras.* 9 τὸ] om. *suppl. mg.* 10 καὶ] *deest*  
 12 ἀντωνυμίας] ἀντονομασίας Ο cf. *n. ad p. 8 v. 10* 13 ἐγκλινομένων  
 Ο, *mg.* Vict. 14 ἥγεται Ο

38, 1 διεσάλευσεν] διεσάλευεν Ο 2 ἀπέφγνε] ἀπέφαινε Ο  
 4 ἀλλ'] ἀλλὰ Ο *mg.* 5 τῆς] τῆς τουάντης Ο, Vict. *mg.* 14 φιλο-  
 σόφους τε] καὶ φιλοσόφοις Ο

39, 5 λέγων] λέγων Ο 10 πονήσει φαίνεσθαι Ο 11 εἴ τι] τι  
 Ο, *suppl. εἰ* Ο *mg.* 13 πως] πῶς Ο *mg.* 14 δύναται ἔκαστον Ο

40, 1 ἐρώ σαφέστερον Ο 2 τε] *deest* 7 δεῖ] δὴ Ο 11 αὐτὸ] τὸ αὐτὸν Ο, Vict. *mg.* 13 ποιεῖν] *add.* Ο *mg.*

41, 2 πάντων] *ita* Ο, *sed* Ο *mg.* πάντα ὄμοιως] ὄμιως Ο, *mg.* in  
 quodam manuscripto codice loco huius reposita erat haec nota *ꝝ* quae  
 id ualebat πέφυκεν ὄμιως Ο 7 κρείττω, *ω in ras.* 3 *litt.* Ο 8 πό-  
 τερον] πότερα Ο 9 εἴ τινα] τίνα Ο, *τοιχ* ἀρρένων, Ο *mg.* εἴ τινα,  
 ἀρσενικῶν 11 ἀρρενικὰ Ο, Vict. *mg.* 12 τὰ] *deest* δὲ] τε Ο,  
*mg.* Vict. 13 ἔσται λαμβανόμενα] λαβόμενα Ο, ἔσται *add.* Ο *mg.*

42, 2 καθ' ἐν] *ita* Ο *mg.* 3 δεῖ] δεῖται Ο μετασκευῆς] *ita* Ο  
 4 ἐναρμονιώτερον] ἀρμονιώτερον Ο *eras.* ἐνα-

43, 1 συναλοιφᾶς] *ita* Ο *mg.*: quamuis in manuscripto legatur  
 διὰ τὸ ꝑ mendose quidem: (συναλειφᾶς Ο) 2 μόρια] τὰ μόρια,  
 παρακέκρουκε] *ita* Ο *mg.* 3 καὶ ὁ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐποίησεν ἐποίησε λέγων  
 Ο, *aliter mg.* Vict. 4 καὶ...λέγων] *desunt, suppl. mg.* 10 συν-  
 θετικῆς] συνθέσεως Ο *mg.* *cum Vict. mg.* 11 πρώτα] *deest*: *τοιχ* τὰ  
 στοιχεῖα Ο

44, 2 ὡς] ὡστε Ο 3 ἐνδέχηται Ο 3, 4 προσκατασκευάσαι τε  
 καὶ εἴπον τι δέοι Ο 7 ἦ...τεθὲν] *desunt: suppl. mg.* 8 καὶ  
 σεμιότητα...λαβὼν] καὶ σεμιὸν λαβὼν Ο, *sed mg.* καὶ σεμιότητα ἐτέραν  
 δὲ τινα συζηγίαν λαβὼν. 9 ἀσεμν' φαίνεται καὶ ἄκαρι Ο 13 ὑμεῖς  
 ήμεις Ο ἡ μόνη ἐλπὶς] *ita* Ο *mg.* *sed* ήμῶν ἡ ἐλπὶς Ο

45, 1 τις *post* λύσας Ο ταῦτην τὴν συζηγίαν Ο 2 ὑμεῖς τε] ήμεις  
 δὲ Ο 3, 4 ἡ μόνη] ήμῶν ἡ Ο 4 ἔτι om. *suppl. ad mg. m. pr.*  
 6 δαι] δ' Ο ταῦτην λέξιν Ο 8 χάριν τούτων Ο 12 ὄμιως Ο, *mg.*  
 Vict. 'γρ. ὄμοιως' 15 ποδαπὴ Ο

46, 1 τῶν νοημάτων] ἀπάντων νοημάτων Ο, ἀπάντων ὄνομάτων *mg.*  
 Vict. 2 τὰ δὲ ὡς διαποροῦντες] *ita* Ο, *sed post* ἐπιτάπτοντες (v. 4):

mg. Vict. 3 ὡς εὐχόμενοι] ita C Vict. mg. 'fort. defecit ὡς' ut sit ὡς εὐχόμενοι, ut in reliquis.' 7 οὖς] deest

47, 1 ἐπις C, Vict. mg. 4 ἐγράφαμεν C<sup>1</sup> 5 ἀν] δ' ἀν C 9 μὴν] μὲν C<sup>1</sup> 12 τε] deest

48, 1 προς θήκη (-κη a. m. alt.) C ἀναγκαῖα C<sup>1</sup>, ἀναγκαῖα corr. sic 4 τοξεύη] post h. v. add. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οὐχ ἡ (οὐχὶ || C<sup>1</sup>) τοῦ ἀναγκαῖον χαριν (ν in ras.) πρόσκευται τοξεύειν ἀλλ' ἵνα τὸ τελευταῖον κῶλον, τὸ καν μήπω βάλλῃ C, ita mg. Vict. ex l. Cf. Usener Index Schol. Bonn. p. xi βραχύτερον] τραχύτερον C 6 χαριέστερον] ita C mg.<sup>σ</sup>

49, 5 τί δὲ δὴ τὸ] τὸ δὲ δὴ C<sup>1</sup>: corr. m. alt. add. ad mg. τὸ 8 ἐπαινούμενον] ita C mg.<sup>σ</sup> 11 τρία] ita C mg.<sup>σ</sup> Ἄ C 12 ἥδιω] deest: ἥδειαν C mg., ἥδεια C mg.<sup>σ</sup> 13 πρόσεστι] ita C mg.<sup>σ</sup>

50, 1 τῆς ἀφαιρέσεως δὲ C 3 χαριέστέραν, C mg. χαριν ἐτεράν, ποιεῖ C ἔρμηνείαν] ἀρμονίαν C 4 οἰστερ] οἴσα, C add. mg. περ ἥν] ἐν μὲν C, Vict. 11 χάριν ἔχει] ἔχει χάριν C

51, 2 δυῶν] πρώτων δυεῖν C αὐτοτελῆ] ita C mg.<sup>σ</sup> eras. ἀτελῆ 3 εἰ ταῦτα] εἰ τις αὐτὰ C 4 ἐπιτηδείων] ita C mg.<sup>σ</sup> 7 λόγον] πρότιαν C 9 μοι] μοι καὶ C 10 ταύταις] ἐνταῦθα C, τοιχ τὰς τε προγονιμένας καὶ τὰς ἐπομένας C 11 ταύταις deest. ὅταν] ὅτι' ἀνήρει semper C 12 ταῖς] deest

52, 4 εὖ] deest 8 ἐστιν ante ἀνθρωπίνων inserit C 10 ἥγη- σηται τις] ἥγησέτω τις C<sup>1</sup>. mg. corr. ἥγησαιτο [τις] a. m. pr. 13 ἡ καλῶς μὲν] om. add. C mg.<sup>σ</sup> οὐ μὴν ἥδεως γε C, Vict. mg. 15 ἡ γέ τοι C, Vict. mg. ἡ] deest ante Ἀντιφῶντος

53, 9 ταῦτα] post ἐστι C τὰ κράτιστα C 11 τὸ πρέπον C 16 τούτοις] τοιούτοις C

54, 3 μέλος ἡ μέτρον C 12 ἐπάνειμι] ita C mg.<sup>σ</sup>

55, 1 δὲ] δὴ C 4 παρέξω C, Vict. mg. 8 τούτων post ῥυθμῶν, δὲ post τούτων<sup>2</sup> C 11, 12 ἀπάντων ἐστιν C (-ν C<sup>1</sup>) 12 ἐμμέλειαν C 15 ἔκρουστε C<sup>1</sup> διέφθειρεν C

56, 6 πάθον] πάθος C, Vict. mg.

57, 1 διακούονται] διοικοῦνται C 4 ἐν φόδαις γυνητείας] ita C mg.<sup>σ</sup> 11 τῆς ἐν φόδαις] τοῖς ἐν φόδῃ C 16 ἥπτον] τὸ ἥπτον C

59, 1 πέρα] ita C mg.<sup>σ</sup> 1' παρὰ C, Vict. mg. 2 πλέον C

60, 1 γε ἡ] deunt

61, 1 ἡ δ']<sup>2</sup> ita C mg.<sup>σ</sup> ai δ' C, Vict. mg.

62, 4 βαρύτητος τε C 5 πολλωνυσυλλάβοις C mg.<sup>σ</sup> οἴαι ποτ' ἀν ὀστιν] εἰ καὶ ποτ' ἡλίκ' ἀν ὀστιν C

63, 3 τῶν] ἐκ τῶν C, Vict. 8 ἀποπρόβατ' ἔκεισε ἀπόπρομοι-

κοίτας C 9 ἐφ' ἐνὸς] ἐφ ἐνὸς C 14 τίτετε C<sup>1</sup> (v. 7 τίτειτε C<sup>1</sup>)  
 15 μετὰ ταύτην C  
 64, 1 τοῦ] τοῦ τε C Vict. *mg.* 2 αἰ] *deest* 5 τῆς] ἡ τῆς C, Vict. 8 παρεῖληφε...συλλαβὰς] *desunt* in S<sup>b</sup>, παρεῖληφεν C  
 10 αὖσονσαι] παραύσονσαι C, Vict. *mg.* 14 δὴ] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup>  
 18 συμμετριάζονσα] συμμετρία σώζονσα C, σώζονσα συμμετρία S<sup>b</sup>  
 65, 2 διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλων ταῦτα] διαφέρει ταῦτα ἀλλήλων C, *mg.*  
 Vict. 4 παρὰ αὐτὴν τὴν C  
 66, 2 τινες αὐτὴν] *verso ordine* C *mg.*: τινες—λειποντι] *om. suppl.* C *mg.* 10 αὐτῶν τινὶ ἀποτίαν C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> *omisit* C<sup>1</sup> 11 τὰ μαλακὰ C 12 εὐπρόφορα] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 14 πολλά... 16 λαμβάνοντα] *desunt* in S<sup>b</sup>.  
 67, 1 προσίστανται] προσίστανται C, "obsunt, Halic. p. 518, idem in Isoer." Vict. in Lex. Monac. Cod. Gr. 174 4 φυλαττόμενον] φυλασσομένους C 14 ὄμοιῶν γενῶν 1 C, C *mg.* P. c. ὄμοιογενῶν, 'puto ὄμοιογενῶν' Vict. *quae est lectio Epitomae*  
 68, 7 ὅλως] ὅλος C 11 οἴομαι *ante* ταῦτα γε C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> a *mg.*  
 13 τὰ] ἡ τὰ C *corr.* 14 γλυκαίνεται τε] γλυκαίνεται C  
 69, 6 ἐπικρύπτονται C, Vict. *mg.* 8 καὶ] *deest* 12 δεῖν] *add.* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 14 ἡ μιαρὸν] *desunt* 15 ἔχον] *om. suppl.* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup>  
 70, 1 δὲ] *ita* C in *ras.* δὲ 1 C<sup>1</sup> 3 παρακελεύσομαι C 9 ἀπὸ] ὑπὲρ C 10, 11 ὡς κεφάλαια. εἴεν καλὴ C. 13 ἡδεῖα] ἡ ἡδεῖα C *mg.*; *ita* Vict.  
 71, 1 καὶ] *deest*, *ita* Vict. *non* '1' 3 πιθανὸν] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup>  
 7 ἡ τε] ἡ C  
 85<sup>1</sup>, 11 ἐκφέρωνται C 12 ἥτοι] *spatio relicto* 2 *vel* 3 *litt. eis* τι C  
 87, 1 βραχὺ... 2 γράμμα τῶν] *om. suppl.* C *mg.*  
 88, 1 ἀνάλογον] ἀλογον, C. *Provocat in mg. librarius ad 55, 5*: 5, 1: Cic. Orat. c. 60 *itaque fere* Vict. in mg. *sed alia exempla colligit ex Dionysio. De lectione haec scribit* Vict. 'γρ. ἀλογὸν', 'ita locus notatur in k tanquam lacer ac mancus in l. macula ut puto erat in uoce ἀνάλογον, nam desiderari nihil uidetur'. *Hic certe* C ab 1 *dissentit*, *cum* 'ν' *congruit*. αἰσθησιν ἔχονσαι C 'ν' 6 μείζονα C Vict. 11 ἐπτὰ...12 γραμμάτων *om. suppl.* C *mg.*  
 89, 7, 8 μέτρων ἡ ῥυθμῶν C 10 τῶν ἐν] *desunt*. 12, 13 παρὰ] περὶ C 14 πᾶσα] *inest* 17 γίνεται C τῆς<sup>o</sup>] *deest, cons.* Vict. 18 τε] τε καὶ C

<sup>1</sup> For the discrepancies between C and F in c. xiv. see n. 6 on p. 75.

90, 2 *τὴν*] *deest* 4 *οσαι*] *inest*, cf. Göller p. 98, *de Victorii*  
 MSS. 8 *δὲ*] *deest* 10 *μὲν*] *μὲν τῶν* C

91, 2 *τὴν δία*] *ita C mg.*, δὰ *τὴν* C

92, 2 *προκυλινδόμενος* C 5 *ἡρεμίαν*] *ἡρεμίαν* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup>

93, 3 *δὴ* *η*] *δὲ* C 6 *έκτασις*] *ita C*, *έκτασις post corr.* C  
 8 *πρὸς χρῆμα*] *ita C mg.*<sup>o</sup> 13 *ρόγχθει* C

94, 1 *πνοιῆς* C 5 *ἡμᾶς* (-*ς*) *post καὶ θετικὸν* C 7 *διανοίας*]  
*τοῖς διανοίας* C: *τῆς διανοίας* Vict.

95, 1 *τε*] *deest* 4 *μιμητικὸ*] *μιμήματα* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 5 *ἡρεμίας*]  
*έρημίας* C, *corr. mg.*<sup>o</sup> 7 *νέμω*] *om. suppl. mg.*<sup>o</sup> 8 *εἰσαγαγόντι* C

96, 1 *καὶ ἄλλοθι*] *ἄλλῃ* C 3 *παρὰ μὲν*] *verso ordine* C  
 4 *σύνθεσις*] *ita C mg.*<sup>o</sup> 7 *γίνεται*] *deest* *πολλὴ...εἴναι*] *desunt,*  
*suppl. mg.*<sup>o</sup> *in 'l' desunt*, 'est e. mendosus' Vict. 9 *γραμμάτων* C  
*ἡδείαν τε*] *ἡδεῖαν* *δὲ* C, *τε sustulit* Vict. 11 *τε*] *suppl. mg.*<sup>o</sup>

97, 5 *έπαγγον*] *ita C mg.*<sup>o</sup> 6, 7 *χρήσεται...μαλακωτάτοις*]*om.*  
*suppl. C mg.*<sup>o</sup> 10 *ποιήσει*] *ποιήσει τὴν* C

98, 3 *εἰγον*] *εἴδον* C (*ει in lit.*): *mg.* Vict. 'εἴδον, ita legitur ap.  
 Homer.' 4 *διὰ*] *μετὰ* C, *με- in ras. a m.*<sup>o</sup> 7 *καὶ*] *om. suppl. mg.*

10 *γοργῶ* C

99, 3 *λεῖας* C

100, 6 *οὐδὲ*] *οὐτ'* C 7 *δὲ*] *τε* C 9 *ἄν*] *om. suppl. C mg.*

101, 8 *μικρὰ* C 8, 9 *χρηστὸν ἐσεσθαί φησιν*] *χρήσιμόν φησιν* C  
 10 *εἰρηται απε τῷ ἀνδρὶ* C

102, 3 *Βουωτὶς* C

103, 9 *ἄπας ἔστιν*] *ἄπας γὰρ ἔστιν* C

104, 11 *μῆ*] *om. suppl. C mg.*

105, 3 *ἀρχόμενος post βραχεῖας* C 4 *λῆγον bis* C 8 *νεόχυτα*]  
*ita C corr.* 12 *κείναν*] *semel tantum agnoscit* C

106, 3 *οὐκ*] *deest* 5 *δὲ τοῦ*] *τοῦ μὲν* C, *τοὺ μὴν 1 (?)* 8 *κή-*  
*δεστοι* C 9 *ρύθμὸς* C 13 *χορεύος*] *deest*

107, 2 *ἔστι*] *deest* 4 *δ' αὐτὸν*] *om. suppl. mg.* C 5 *διαβε-*  
*βηκὼς ᾧς*] *διαβέβηκεν* C 10 *εὐσχήμων* C, *corr. mg.*<sup>o</sup> 11 *δια-*  
*κεκόλασται απε corr. διακέλασται* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup>

108, 4 *πράγμασιν*] *γράμμασιν* C 5 *παραλαμβάνεσθαι*] *ita C mg.*<sup>o</sup>  
 6 *κεφαλᾶς* C 9 *εἰς κάλλος ἀρμονίας*] *ita C mg.*<sup>o</sup> cf. Vict. Ar.  
*Rhet.*<sup>o</sup> p. 617

109, 2 *πόσῳ*] *ὅσῳ* C 5 *ἄλογον τοῦτον*] *ἄλογον* C, *α in lit.*  
*τοῦτον*] *ante χωρίσαντες* C, *post χωρίσαντες* Vict., 'sed postea deleuit'  
 6 *κόκλον*] *deest*, *κυκλικὸν* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup>, 'l'. 9 *ἄν*] *deest* 11 *συνέστηκε*  
*μὲν*] *συνέστηκεν* C 12 *γινομένης* C

110, 3 πλωταῖς] *ita C mg.*<sup>o</sup> ἀπίρναισι (-σσι) *C mg.*<sup>o</sup> 4 δὲ] *inesit* 5 ή βραχεῖα *C* 6 συμβάμεν] *ita C* (ώ) 7 δὲ] *deest* τοῦτο] ἔστι τὸ *C* 7 σεμιολογῶν] *Vict. Rhet.*<sup>2</sup> 618 σεμνότητα λογίαν

111, 1 πρώτη τεθῆ] *ita C* 2 καὶ] *deest* 3 τίν' ἀκτὰν] *ita C* 10 ἔσται δύο *C* 12 τὰ πείω (sic) *C.* 13 ὑπήχθην] ή in *ras C* 14 μετρικῶν καὶ ρυθμικῶν *C*

112, 2 δὲ] ὅτι μὲν *C*, *Vict. mg.* 3 γίνεται *C*, *corr.* *mg.*<sup>o</sup> υπα. *cum nota huius uerbi tachygraphicā* 6 λαμβάνονται *C* 7 συμπλέκονται] συμπλέκοντ || *C*, ω in *ras. a man. rec.* 'γρ. συμπλέκονται' *mg.* *Vict. C ante corr. habuit fortasse συμπλέκοντες vel συμπλέκονται (l)* 8 τῶν] *deest* 14 οὐδὲ] οὐ *C* ἀπελαύνεται *C* 15 ὕσπερ...έμμετρον] *om. suppl. C mg.*

114, 1 τὸν λόγον τόνδε] λόγον τόνδε *C*, *Vict. v. tr.* 7 ἀξιωματικοὶ... 8 διὰ ταῦτα] *insunt in C*, 'absunt ab 1' αὐτῷ] *deest* 10, 11 ἔχει τοὺς...εἰτ' αὐθίς] *insunt*: ἔχει...πόδας *om. 1* 12 ὑφ' ἡς] ὕφ' ή ut *uid. C ante corr.*

115, 8 δὴ καὶ] δὲ *C* 10 μὴ] τὰ μὴ *C*: *ita Sadée p. 173* 12 λέξιν...ἀξιωματικὴν] *om. suppl. C mg.* 14 καὶ] *deest* 15 ρυθμῶν...περιβοήτων *suppl. C mg.*<sup>o</sup> φανερὸν καὶ περιβόητον *C*

116, 6 λαμβικὸν *C* 8 ὅτι] *om. suppl. C mg.* 9 προσῆκεν] *ita C mg.*<sup>o</sup>

117, 3 ή] *deest* 12 εὑμέλειαν] *ita C mg.*<sup>o</sup> 14 παρέλασσε] *C mg.* uerba fortasse alicuius poetae haec sunt. παρῆλασεν ἀν *C* Δημοσθένη *C* 15 εὐνεκεν] *C mg.*<sup>o</sup> ἔνεκα

119, 7 τοῦδε] *deest* 8 ἔτερος] *om. suppl. C mg.* 13 εὐνοιᾶν (sic *C*), 'est dactylus si av ut correpta capiatur' *mg.* *Vict.*

120, 1 αὐτὸν] *C mg.*<sup>o</sup> αὐτὸν, αὐτῶν *C*, *cum 1 congruens.* 4 φ συνήπται] *in ras. C. in mg. asteriscus* 5 δέ] *deest* 7 εἶναι] *deest* 9 τῶν] *deest*: *om. Vict.*

121, 1 κατακεκλασμένας] *ita C mg.*<sup>o</sup> 2 ή] καὶ *C*

122, 1 καὶ μέσος καὶ τελευταῖς *C*, *Vict.* 3 πότερα *C* 4 ήν post παχύτης *C* 9 τὸ] *deest* 11 ἔοικε δέ] ἔοικεν δὴ *C*

123, 2 ἐμπεσῶν ante ἀν τις *C* 7 τί δέ] ἔστιν δέ *C* 9 ἔχυρὸν] *ita C mg.*<sup>o</sup> corr. 15 ἐλαύνει *C*, δ in *ras.* 17 ὄψει φοβερώτερα *C.* ω in *ras.*

124, 3 ἀπαντᾶν εἰσιῶν *C mg.*<sup>o</sup> 5 εἰς τὸ τολμᾶν] *add. C mg.*<sup>o</sup> 7 οὐτως] *ita C mg.*<sup>o</sup> τοιχ συγκαμφθεῖς. 10 οὐδὲ] ἐπὶ *C* *Vict. mg.* 13 ἐπίμπρατο] ἐπιπίμπρα *C*, ἐπὶ παλαιαισ *C mg.*<sup>o</sup> itaque *S<sup>b</sup>*

125, 1 ἐξέστησεν] *ita C mg.*<sup>o</sup> τοιχ τολμήσαντος *C mg.*<sup>o</sup> 3 βασι-

λέα] *ita* C, *sed mg.* <sup>ο</sup>βαίστιον, <sup>ο</sup>βαίστιον αὐτοῦ S<sup>b</sup> αὐτῶν C 4 φιλότος C 6 μέγας γὰρ ἦν καὶ τὸ χρῶμα μιμῆσας S<sup>b</sup> βεβούλευτο C *corr.* 7 φέλιον C

126, 1 αὐτοδηνολέγω τὸ συνάγον C. *Vict. mg.* C *mg.* (cum asterisco) αὐτοδηνολεγοντος συνάγαγον 4 κοῖτος C 5 ἀνέφαινε C *Vict. mg.* 9 τελετὴν, καὶ τόγε πάθος C 10 ἐκείνου] ἐκένο C

127, 4, 5 ἔδησε...ἀναβὰς] *om. suppl. mg.* C 8 ἐν] *om. suppl. mg.* C

128, 2 κεκόνιστο C, *Vict. mg.* 8 σμήχοιτο C *Vict. mg.* 11 ὡς] *deest* 14 μὲν] *eras. post αἴτιον* C

129, 3 ἀσεμνος] *ita* C *mg.* 4 ἥτις οὐ λυπήσει] *om. add.* C *mg.* 7 τὴν] *deest* 10 τὴν...καλὰ] *desunt* 12 καὶ] *deest* ποκ  
αένοντα C *mg.* 13 δὲν] δὲ C

130, 1 Αὐτίκα τοῖς (*in ras*) μὲν C 2 τοὺς] *deest* 8 τε] *deest* 10 τὰς] *deest* τοὺς ἀντιστρόφους C *mg.* ἀντιστρόφους C

131, 2 ταῦτ' ἔξεστι] ταῦτά ἔστιν C 6 ἀν] *deest*, ἀπαρτήσωτι 8 δὲ] *deest* 13 αὐτὰς] *ita* C *mg.* 16 τῷ αὐτῷ C

132, 3 οἴγε δὴ] οἴ γε C *mg.* 1, οἴ τε C 133, 2 ἀρμονίας] ἀρμονίας C *mg.* 4 η] *deest* 5 η] τι, *add.* *mg.* η 13 η] *deest* 15 τὴν] *om. suppl. mg.* ἀμήχανον] *ita* C *mg.* 16 καὶ] *om. suppl. mg.* 17 εὐρωτέραις] *ita* C *mg.* πολυνθεστέροις C, πολυιδεστέροις *corr. m. rec.*

134, 3 ἐν λόγων] *desunt, add.* C *mg.* ἐν λόγον, ἐν ἀγωνιον (-ον α μ.) χρείᾳ C ποκ οὐχὶ η C *om. γε* 8 εἰς περιόδου] *om. add.* C *mg.* *Vict.* 11 κατὰ] *ita* C 13 ἐκείνων C οὐκ ἀπ' ἐλαττόνων C<sup>1</sup> οὐκ *om. C mg.* 14 τῶν ἀλλων, γίνεται] *add.* C *mg.*

135, 2 ἀπαστ] *deest* 3 ἔργον] *om. suppl. mg.* 6 πάνν] σφόδρα ποτ δεομένη C 9 λεγέσθω] γενεσθω C, *corr. mg.* 12, 13 ὥσπερ ἐκλογὴ τῶν ὄνομάτων εἴη τις ἀν ἡ μὲν πρέποντα C

136, 5 ἐνθυμώμεθα...παραλυπῇ] *ita fere* C *mg.* παραλιπῇ C *mg.* 6 παραλιπεῖν C 8 μυρία...αἴτια] μυρία ἀλλα ἔστιν, ὅσα τις ἀν C 12 τὰ] *deest* 17 ποιητὴν τε] ποιητὴν C, *Vict.*

137, 4 καίτοι] καίπερ C 138, 1 τούτοις] αὐτοῖς C 2 ἡμῖν *post διαφέρειν* C

139, 2 ἐπὶ] *inest* 3 οὖν] δὴ C 10 τοῦ πέτρου] *om. C πέτρου C mg.*

140, 3 οὐ γὰρ εἰκῇ] οὐκ ἀν εἰκῇ γε C, γὰρ *add.* C *mg.* 7 μακραῖ] *deest* 14 τι δὲ] τι δήποτ' οὖν C 15 πολλοὺς] πολλοὺς τοὺς C

141, 7, 8 τῶν μελῶν] *insunt* 10 πειρωμένης *ante* τὰ γινόμενα C 14 γὰρ] *inest*

142, 4 συγκατακευλίσθαι C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 7 ταύτην] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup>  
ιδεῖν ἀξιον ἔστιν C 11 ἔπειθ<sup>o</sup>] ἔπειτα C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 12 μακραῖ<sup>o</sup> *inest*,  
cetera *ut in* 1 13 καταστᾶσθαι C *tox* συντελεῖσθαι C<sup>o</sup>, *corr.* *mg.*<sup>o</sup>

143, 4 γίνεται] *deest* *eras.* *fort.* γχ *in mg.*, *ita mg.* *Vict.* 5 δι-  
ιστάναι C 6 διηρτημένων] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 13 οὐτοί γε] οὐτοι

144, 8 ἥδειν καὶ καλὴν C 11 ἐλάττω τ<sup>o</sup>] ἐλάττω C 13 πρὸς  
ἴποθήσομαι C 14 μαρτυρίοις C

145, 5 διενκρινῆσαι C *corr.* *Vict.* *mg.* *tox* τοῦς πολλοῖς C 6 τὴν]  
τὴν μὲν C, *mg.* *Vict.* 8 λόγῳ] *deest* 13 διαφορὰς πολλὰς C  
15 λογισμὸν] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 16 ἴδιον.. χαρακτῆρα] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup>

146, 11 αὐτὰς] αὐτοὺς C *mg.*<sup>o</sup>

147, 3 τὴν] *deest*, *ita* *Vict.* 5 νήτης, τῆς ὑπάτης C 13 καὶ]  
*deest*, *ita* *Vict.*

148, 2 περιφανείας] περιφανίας C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 4 διασθάτεις C *mg.*<sup>o</sup>  
7 μῆτε] μὴ C, *Vict.* 8 βάσεις...διαβεβηκόσιν] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 9 ὀνό-  
μασιν] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 14 οὐχ ἥττον] δροίως C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> *add* *m.*<sup>2</sup> η οὐκ ἥττον  
16 τοὺς] *deest*, *ita* *Vict.*

149 1 οὐτ'...ἀπλᾶ] *ita* *fere* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> αὐτὰ] *om.* C *add.* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup>  
6 οὐτε] οὐδε C 8 οἶ] *deest*, *suppl.* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 13 post τὴν πραγ-  
ματείαν, ἔχουσα ἐπίτηδες οὐδεμίαν, ἐπὶ τῆς C *mg.*<sup>o</sup>

150, 1 ἀγχίστροφος C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> *pro* ἀντίρροπος C 1 2 ἄναρθρος] *ita*  
C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 3 ὑπεροπτικὴ] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 4 ἀκόμψεστον C, ἀκόμψεστος  
C *mg.* 5 ἔχουσα κάλλος] *ita* C *mg.*<sup>o</sup> 6 δὲ] *deest*, *ita* *Vict.*  
7 πολιτικὸν] *inest* 8 ἐπικῆ] C, *mg.* *Vict.* *aliter* 1 9 Ἐμ-  
πεδοκλῆς] Ἀλκμέων C

151, 3 ἀν ἀηδῆς] *uerso* *ordine* C 4 διωπικιλλόμενος C  
5 φανέσεσθαι] C *mg.* φανέσεσθαι: φανέσθαι C<sup>o</sup> 6 παραγγε-  
ματικὸν C ἀνέλεγκτα] οὐδ, ἀνεέλεγκτα C

152, 1 παραληφθεὶς C 3 δὲ] δὴ C διθύραμβός τις] διθύραμβος  
4<sup>1</sup> δευτ' C, δόλυμπ/ιοι C

153, 1 κλυτὰν C οἱ ἄστεως C (*mg.* οἱ τ<sup>o</sup>) 2 πανδ'/δαλόν C  
3 ιοδέτων C λάβετε] λάχετε C 4 τῶν ἐαριδρέπτων] C *mg.* τάν τε  
ἀριδρέπτων: *sed* ἀντεαριδρόπτων C Διόθεν τε με] *ita* C *mg.* διατέ-  
θεντε C, *ante corr.* δι' ἀ/έθεντε ἀλγαία C

154, 1 πορευθέντ<sup>o</sup> ἀοιδᾶν C, *sed* C *mg.* πορευθένταις ἀοιδ<sup>o</sup> κισσοδαι<sup>o</sup>  
C 3 τε<sup>1</sup>] μεν 4 ἐν Ἀργεανεμέψ C 4, 5 φοινικοεαων *in ras.* C  
5 δόπτ<sup>o</sup> οιχθέντες C, ὥραν C 6 ἐπάγοισι C τοτε<sup>o</sup>] τοτ<sup>o</sup> C  
7 ἄμβροτον] μ ευργα scr. ἐρατέων φοιβερόδα τε C 8 ἀχείτε C

<sup>1</sup> Discrepancies between C and F (the latter as collated for Bergk's Lyric poets) are here mentioned.

δημοφή C 8, 9 οιχνεῖτ' ἐσ Σεμέλεαν C 11 μετρίως ante τὰς ἀκοὰς  
C 13 τὸ] deest τῆς ἀρμονίας C καὶ οὐτε] οὐ τὸ C, οὐτε τὸ  
C mg.<sup>o</sup>

155, 2 αἰσθησιν ἔχοντες] verso ordine C, deinde περὶ λόγου τινὸς  
αὐτοματισμῷ C<sup>1</sup> quae desunt suppl. C mg. 4 αὐτοματισμῷ δὲ C  
5 χρησάμενα C, a in ras. 2 litt. ἐγὼ] δν ἔγώ C 6 δεικνῦνται C  
8 δυνέν C 13 ἀντίτυπόν τε] καὶ ἀντίτυπον C

156, 5 ἑκατέρων C, Vict. 7 δέ μ' ἔδοξε C νννὶ] deest  
11 τούτῳ ita C mg.<sup>o</sup> ἐπὶ τοῦτο C 13 ἐν αὐτῷ] ἐν add. C  
mg.<sup>o</sup> αὐτῷ C

157, 3 προτάπτεται] ita C mg.<sup>o</sup> 4 τοῦ] τῷ C 6 αὐτοῖς ante  
ἐποδιδοῦσα C 7 τοῖς ἔπειτα συνδέσμοις C mg.<sup>o</sup> 8 εἴτε] εἰ C,  
τί<sup>2</sup> C corr. a m.<sup>2</sup> 10 τραχεῖα] -ν in ras., et 4 uerba sqq. 11 μὲν  
ιδιαὶ] μὲν C βραχεῖα] C 13 καὶ ἡμιφώνου καὶ φωνήεντος C  
15 δυσέκφορον] ita C mg.<sup>o</sup>

158, 1 ποιήσει C βραδὸν] ita C mg.<sup>o</sup> βαρὺ C 2 τραχὺ] ita  
C mg.<sup>o</sup>, ταχὺ C 4 τὸν deest 5 τούτον] τοῦ στόματος C, mg.  
Vict. aliter 1 7 σχήματος] στόματος 8 ἔκφερον C<sup>1</sup> 10 ἡχος  
δῆχτος C 12 μύσαντας στόματος C, om. στόματος mg.<sup>o</sup> οὐδέν  
ωνδες C 13 ἡ ἐνεργούσης C 14 λαμβάνοντες C

159, 1 δῆ] δὲ τὸ στόμα] om. C mg.<sup>o</sup> τοχ τὸν σχηματισμὸν  
3 δὲ οὐ συνίσταται] δὲ ὡν (in ras.) συνίσταται C, ἐν φ διέσταται C mg.<sup>o</sup>  
4 τε καὶ εὐπὲς C 5 πέμπτες C 8 τὸν διωρισμὸν] C mg. ἐρεισμὸν,  
διωρισμὸν C 14 ν] om. suppl. C<sup>2</sup> mg., εἴτε C<sup>1</sup> τῷ]  
τὸ C.

160, 1 ἀποδιδωσιν] inest τῇ] τῷ C, mg. Vict. τῷ] ita C mg.<sup>o</sup>  
τὸ C ἡχον] C mg.<sup>o</sup> (ἡ) 5 τραχεῖα κάντανθα] om. suppl. C mg.<sup>o</sup>  
8 ἡ] δ C τοχ τε deest 11 μεῖζον in ras. συναλειφουσα] ita C  
ante correct. 12 δυνὲν C 13 γουν] γε C<sup>1</sup>, corr. mg.  
14 ποιήσει C

161, 2 δύο ἡμίφωνα] uerso ordine C, mg. Vict. 3 μὴ] μήτε C  
12 διερειμὸς C 14 ἔχοντος τούτων C -ος in ras. 16 διαθεέντε  
C<sup>1</sup>, διατεθέντε C corr. eras. postea οἱ δ ἀρχαῖοι μόνον ἀπὸ τοῦ .i. λήγοντι,  
τὸ ἔδετε πορευθέντα

162, 1 Ἀλγαία C 2 πορευθέντα· οἱ δ ἀρχαῖοι μόνον, lectionem  
uere prodigiosam, C

163, 5 ἥσαν εἰς αὐτὸν C

164, 4 ἐπὶ πλεῖστον C 5 αὐτοῦ] αὐτῶν C 6 ἀδύνατα C  
7 ἐπὶ μακρότερον C 12 δεὶ deest 14 ἀδεῶς deest 16 οὐδὲ  
γῆν φυτεύοντες] desunt

165, 2 τῆς τε οὐ 3 ἀπανίστατο οὐ 4 μὲν] *om. suppl.*  
 οὐ *mg.* 6 διλιπτένοντα διὰ τῆς οὐ 7 ἐκφαίνει οὐ<sup>1</sup> 10 εὐπα-  
 δεύτους οὐ 11 τοῦτο] *deest* οὐ 12 εἰς μὲν] μὲν οὐ, [οὐτὶ μὲν]  
 εἰς τὴν *mg.* οὐ 13 συγγραφὴ οὐ<sup>1</sup> *ante corr.*

166, 1 τίνα] *ita C mg.*<sup>2</sup> δὸντὸς οὐ 2 εὐπινῆ] *ita C mg.*<sup>2</sup>  
 3 φαδία γὰρ ἔσται οὐ *mg.* *Vict.* 5 μεταβαίνονταν οὐ, *ad mg. corr.*  
 7 ἐφορμοττόμενον] *ita C mg.* ἐφαμαρτούμενον οὐ 9 γινομένην] *suppl.*  
 οὐ *mg.*<sup>2</sup> δὲ] *inest* 12 τοῦτο] τοῦτον οὐ *mg.*<sup>2</sup> 13 ἀλλῆλας οὐ,  
 ἀλλῆλαις οὐ *mg.*<sup>2</sup>

167, 1 τὸν πόλεμον] *om. add.* οὐ *mg.*<sup>2</sup> 3 οὐθὲν οὐχὶ] *ita*  
 οὐ οὐ οὐ *mg.* δὲ *in ras.* οὐ 9 πάντα *ita C mg.*<sup>2</sup> πάντα οὐ 10 τε]  
*deest, ita Vict.* 11 τὸν ἥχον] *addit C quae in Ald. leguntur*  
 12 τὸ προηγούμενον οὐ 13 τοντὶ] *ita C mg.*<sup>2</sup> τοῦ οὐ 14 καὶ]  
*deest* "non est in R" *Vict.*

168, 3 ἐξῆς *hic et ubique* οὐ 5 λαβεῖν φαντασίαν οὐ 7 ἐγ-  
 γραμμον οὐ, *corr. mg.* 12 ἀπεργραφος, ἀνέδραστος] *ita C mg.*<sup>2</sup>  
 15 καὶ ἄφων ἀπεργάζεται οὐ *mg.* 16 καὶ] *om. suppl.* οὐ *mg.*

169, 2 εἴτις] *ita C mg.*<sup>2</sup> 3 τῶν ἐμπεριλαμβανομένων] *ita C mg.*<sup>2</sup>  
 5, 6 ἐξ...κῶλα] *ita C mg.*<sup>2</sup> ἐξῆς ἡ πάντα ταῦτα κῶλα οὐ 6 συ-  
 λαβὰς οὐ, *corr. mg.* 10 ἀστ'] *om. suppl.* οὐ 12, 13 καὶ...  
 ἀνωμαλία] *om. suppl.* οὐ *mg.*<sup>2</sup> 13 σχηματισμῶν] *ita C mg.*<sup>2</sup>

170, 1 χαρακτηριστικά] *ita C mg.*<sup>2</sup> αὐστηρᾶς] *ita C mg.*<sup>2</sup>  
 ἀπελογισάμην] *ita C mg.*<sup>2</sup> 5 nulla est *inscriptio*: cf. Göller  
 6 ἐτιθέμην οὐ 7 περιφανίας *in ras.* οὐ 10 σταθερὸν οὐ, τοχὴ ἀλλὰ  
 κινεῖσθαι οὐ *mg.*<sup>2</sup> 11 καὶ ante θάτερα *deest* τοχὴ κατὰ τῶν θατέρων  
 δούματα οὐ *mg.*<sup>2</sup> 12 καὶ δχεῖσθαι] ὀχεῖσθαι οὐ *mg.*<sup>2</sup> 14 συνε-  
 ληφθαί οὐ<sup>1</sup>, συνηλείφθαί οὐ *corr.*

171, 1 τῆς] μᾶς οὐ, τῆς *mg.*<sup>2</sup> ἀποτελοῦτα] *ita C mg.*<sup>2</sup> 3 οὐδένα  
 αἰσθητὸν οὐ τὸν, τῶν *desunt* λαμβάνονται] *ita C mg.*<sup>2</sup> περιλαμ-  
 βάνοντα οὐ<sup>1</sup> 4 τοῦτο τὸ] *desunt, suppl.* οὐ *mg.*<sup>2</sup> 4 ὑφεστιν οὐ  
 5 ἔχονται] *om. suppl.* οὐ 6 εἴναι βούλεται οὐ, τὰ ὄνόματα οὐ  
 8 ἀπέχθεται πον τὸ δὲ θρασὺ] *ita C corr.* 9 καὶ] *deest* 10 δὲ]  
 τε οὐ<sup>1</sup> τοῖς δύνομασιν τὰ δύνοματα οὐ 11 καὶ συνεξέσθαι] *om. addit*  
 οὐ *mg.*<sup>2</sup> 14 χρόνον] *ita C mg.*<sup>2</sup> τοχὴ οὐ οὐ, 'quamquam in  
 manuscripto et excuso codice οὐ negativa particula sit, P tamen  
 auctore generandi casus esse debet hic.' *Vict.* 'γρ οὐ.' *ita C mg.*

172, 2 ἀκόλιστον οὐ, *corr. mg.*<sup>2</sup> 3 μεγίστοις οὐ 8 ταύτας]  
 τὰς αὐτὰς οὐ *mg.*<sup>2</sup> 9 φανερὰς] *ita C mg.*<sup>2</sup> 10 ὡς] *deest* πίνος]  
*ita C mg.*<sup>2</sup> 11 πρόσεστιν] οὐ *mg.*<sup>2</sup> πάρεστιν οὐ 14 κατὰ τὰ  
 16 αὐτῷ] ταύτη οὐ, *mg.* *Vict.*

173, 2 νομίζω] deest, τοιω τουτον δοκεῖ, deinde nomina propria nominatiuo casu 6 τ] δ C

174, 3 θυμὸν C

175, 1 τύ δ C αἴποτε κατ' ἔρωτα C 2 αὐδᾶς C πολλὸν]  
ἄπο || C

176, 1 τ' ἔκλυτες C λίπουσα C 2 χρύσειον C

177, 1 ἄγον C 2 ὥκεες C γάν μέλαναν C corr. 3 δινεῦν-  
τες C, ὡρανῶ θέ || C 5 Αἰψ' ἀλλ'] αἰψα δ C 7 χώτι C 8 Δήν  
τε] δεῦρο C, κάλημι C

178, 1 κ' ἄπτ' C 2 μαινο- in ras. C δ' ἡντε C 2, 3 πειθώ,  
καὶ σαγήνεσσαν C τοιω τίς ὁ 4 Σαπφὴ δίκησοι C

179, 1 φεύγει C 2 αἱ C δέχετ', eras. -αι C 3 αἱ C  
4 κοὐκ ἐθέλοισα C 5 ἔλθε μοι C 7 θυμὸς ἴμείρει C 12 τὰ]  
καὶ C 13 τε] deest

180, 2 καὶ φωνηέντων] καὶ ἀφώνων καὶ φωνηέντων C, διασαλεύονταν C  
3 ἀπόν] ἔνεισιν C 10, 11 ἀλλήλοις τὰ κόλα C

181, 2 παρέξιν δόξαν C 3 καὶ απε παντὶ C, mg. Vict. 5 ἐπὶ]  
ἐπὶ τῶν C, Vict. εὐκαιρίαν C 9 αὐτὸν] om. suppl.  
C mg.º

182, 1 κατασκευασμένον C 2 ὅν] ita C mg.º ἦ C of. mg.  
Vict. τῇ] deest 7 αὐτῇ] ita C mg.º αὐτῆς C 9 εἰρήνη] ita  
C mg.º ἀγούσης] inest 12 ὑποτελοῦντας] inest τοὺς τὰς] τὰς  
in ras. C 13 ὑμᾶς C ἀν] om. suppl. C mg. 15 ὑμετέροις C

183, 3 τῇ δυνάμει ταῦτη C 6 τὰ κάκιστα C 8 τῶν ante  
κακῶν deest 9 παραγγένεται C 10 πλούθοις C mg.º 12 ταῦς  
deest, καὶ σωφροσύνη C πολλῇ] om. suppl. C mg. 13 δέξαιτο]  
ώξαστο C 14 τούτων τῶν μεριδῶν C, αὐτοῦ C 15 οἴδοι γὰρ  
om. ἀν C

184, 1 ἐκ δὲ] ἐκ τε C 3 συνήλειπται om. τε C 4 οὐ καθ' ἐν]  
οὐδὲν C, mg. Vict. 5 οὐδὲ ἐν] ita C mg. οὐδὲ C 7, 8 προεῖαι  
τ... προπετεῖ] ita C mg.º πραεῖαι καὶ προσφνεῖς C 13 ἀριθμοῖς]  
μηθυμοῖς C 13 οὐδὲ ἐν] οὐθὲν C, mg. C οὐτὲ ἐν, itaque 1

185, 1 δέλαθεν 5 εὐγραμμον] ἔγγραμμον C mg.º 6 ἄκρως C  
7 οἱ πολλοὶ] πολὺ C 10 εἶναι μοι] εἶναι C

186, 2 συνθέσεως C ὅσα γε] ēscriptū 3 ēscriptio deest  
δνεῖν C 4 σπάνει τε] ἀντὶ C, σπάνει C mg.º τοιω τε καὶ 6 δέ  
πως ἐξ ἐκείνων] ita C mg.º (πῶς), δὲ ως ἐξ ἐκείνου C 8 ἐπεὶ δὲ C ante  
corr. μέν ἐστι] μὲν τις C; corr. C mg.º ἐστὶ 10 τε απε δοκεῖ C  
δοτοι] οἱ C 12 ιδίας] ita C mg. εἰδικὰς C 13 πολλὰς] post  
διαφορὰς C

187, 3 πως] περ C 5 ἀν] deest 6 ἀφοιτο C ταῖς γλαφυραῖς] ἀνθηραῖς C 8 ἐκείνῳ] deest

188, 1 τῶν] deest 2 φέρειν] inest, sustulit annotator, deinde se correxit 4 εἰ δέ τινι] ita fere C mg.<sup>c</sup> εἰ δέ ἔτι μοι C 7 αὐτὸν C 8 τῶν ἀπάντων] τὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν C 9 οἷς] οἱ C μέλει C 10 οὐκ] deest ἐπιπόνου] ita C mg.<sup>a</sup>, ἐπίπονος C, Vict. mg. 11 ὄντος] ita C mg.<sup>a</sup>, ὄντως C

189, 4 λέξις ἀμετρος] ita C mg.<sup>a</sup>, πεζῇ λέξις C 5 ποίημά γε] ποίημα C 10 ἐφ<sup>?</sup>] deest τοῖς] ἐν τοῖς C

191, 1 τοὺς τε] καὶ τοὺς C, Vict. ἀγῶνας τοὺς δημοσίους] desunt 2 ἀρκεσει] ἀρρόσει C

192, 1 μῆτε ιδίας C 2 κατηγορήσαντα C

193, 1 τουτονὶ] ita C corr. 2 οὗτως C 3 ἐπι τούτῳ] desunt εἰς] deest

194, 1 ἄρα ὅρθως ἐγὼ C 2 τὴν] deest ὑμᾶς ἀσφαλῶς C 3, 4 περὶ τούτων ἔστι μοι νῦν C 5 δὲ] δὴ C περὶ] ἐπὶ C 6 desinit Codex Laur. LIX. 15

C 194, 6—*end*. The principal readings in C, S<sup>b</sup>, and E<sup>b</sup> are here presented.

195, 3 ἐπιθέσθαι] ἐπιθεσθε C mg., ita 'v' Victorii 3 γέλωτα CS<sup>b</sup> 5 οὐδὲ ἀποτον CS<sup>b</sup> 7 ἐγκειμένη] συγκειμένη CS<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup> 8 μοῦσαν] οἷμαι C, ita post μελικὴν E<sup>b</sup>, Vict. 'v': οὐσαν S<sup>b</sup> 12 ποίησις εἰς κόρον, C

196, 1 ἄλλοι τε καὶ C 2 οὐ δὴ] ita C<sup>a</sup> mg. S<sup>b</sup>: οὐδὲ C<sup>a</sup> 3 τῆς] deest in C, δὲ τῆς S<sup>b</sup> 4 ἔστω] ita Steph. ὡραία Ald. C ὡρί S<sup>b</sup>: C mg.<sup>a</sup> φίσως· ὡρίσθω, cf. mg. Vict. C 'γρ. ὡρίσθω addito compendio φ'<sup>b</sup> 6 ἐπιδεικνυμένης] ita C corr. a m.<sup>a</sup>: ἐπιδεικνυμένος C<sup>a</sup> S<sup>b</sup> 9 ἐγκατατεταγμένους CS<sup>b</sup> E<sup>b</sup>, ἀδήλους CS<sup>b</sup> E<sup>b</sup> 13 εὐμελής C post corr. 16 παραλαμβάνουσα S<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup> 17 καὶ ante κατὰ στίχον add. C mg. E<sup>b</sup> et Vict. mg.

197, 1 αὐτῶν] om. suppl C mg.: ita mg. Vict. S<sup>b</sup> 11 πᾶσαν] πᾶσαν εἴναι CS<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup> ἔμμετρον] ἀμετρον CS<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup> 12 Δημοσθένης C, S<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup>, κεχρήσθαι φημὶ CS<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup>

198, 1 προσήκεν CS<sup>b</sup> 2 ἄν] τις CS<sup>b</sup> 6 ἀναγκαῖον] ἄν δίκαιον CS<sup>b</sup> 7 μέλλει S<sup>b</sup> ἐπανθήσειν] ἐπ- post corr. C, fuit ἀπ- fortasse ἀπανθήσειν S<sup>b</sup> 8 αὐτῆς] τις αὐτῆς CS<sup>b</sup> (τις S<sup>b</sup>)

199, 3 ὑμῶν] om. suppl. C mg.<sup>o</sup> 4 προσλάβοιτο C corr. πρὸς λάβοιτο C<sup>o</sup> 5 τετραμένον C<sup>o</sup> corr. mg. 7 δὲ] om. C 8 τὴν ἀρχαίαν C mg.<sup>o</sup> S<sup>b</sup>

200, 2 ἔστω] ὅρα S<sup>b</sup>, ὥριστο C, ἵσως ὥριστω C mg. 'γρ. ὥρισθω' mg. Vict. 3 τούτῳ] τοῦτο CS<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup> διαλύσει] δηλεύσιε C, διαλύσιε C mg.<sup>o</sup>, δὴ λύσει S<sup>b</sup>, διαλύσει E<sup>b</sup> τις] της C<sup>o</sup>

201, 1 ἀκριβῶς] om. CS<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup> 3 ἐλαφρὰ ποδῶν CS<sup>b</sup>, ἵχνε C, ἵχνι C mg.<sup>o</sup> S<sup>b</sup> Vict. mg. 4 ἐὰν] om. CS<sup>b</sup> 5 ἀν εὖ γνώμης C<sup>o</sup>, ἀν ἐγνώμης C<sup>o</sup> 6 κατηγορήσαντα C 8 μέτρων] μερῶν CS<sup>b</sup> 9 ἐπὶ τούτῳ] om. E<sup>b</sup> εἰ γέ τοι C, εἴ γέ τοι S<sup>b</sup> 10 Σαπφικὸν τις C, S<sup>b</sup> 11 ἦν] νῦν C, νῦν S<sup>b</sup> ὡς γαμβρέ· τοιαῦτα CS<sup>b</sup>

202, 3 δτ'] ita CS<sup>b</sup> 5 τούς τε] τοῦς τε C, τε om. S<sup>b</sup>, cf. Usener 5 ἐμβαλῶν] ita C, ἐκβαλῶν C mg.<sup>o</sup> S<sup>b</sup> Vict. mg. 7 ἦν] νῦν, τοιαῦτα C 8 σωφροσύνην C 12 ἀπέχθειάν deinde omissis sequentibus τινα CS<sup>b</sup>: quae desunt suppl. C mg.<sup>o</sup> 13 πόδα προσλαβὸν C mg.<sup>o</sup> 14 ἀπέχθειάν τινα C mg.<sup>o</sup>

203, 2 τούτῳ] τούτων CS<sup>b</sup> 3 ιαμβιον C, ιάμβειον S<sup>b</sup>, ιαμβεῖον C mg.<sup>o</sup> E<sup>b</sup>, ita mg. Vict. 4 τοῦ ἄρα] τοῦτο οὖν C, C mg.<sup>o</sup> ἄρα pro οὖν 6 παρεμπεσόντος CS<sup>b</sup> 7 παραλαμβανόμενον C mg. ita mg. Ald. 9 τὸ δ' αὐτὸν C, τὸ αὐτό C mg.<sup>o</sup> 10 τὴν] om. CS<sup>b</sup> χερόνισον C<sup>o</sup> corr. mg. 11, 12 Εὐριπῶη τῷ βασιλεῖ CS<sup>b</sup> 12 πολυμόλον C, πολυμάλον S<sup>b</sup> πεδίον] παιδὶ CS<sup>b</sup>, 'Κ' Vict. τεθίσιον 'ρ' Vict.

204, 1 μέρος] om. C κώλου μέρος τοντὶ] τοντὶ κώλου, om. μέρος, S<sup>b</sup> 2 μέτρον CS<sup>b</sup> 4 αὐτῆς ἐν μέρει] ita C mg.<sup>o</sup> ('αὐτῆς, αὐτῷ μέρει C ταῦτη] ταῦτα τί CS<sup>b</sup> 6 καὶ πολλὰ] om. CS<sup>b</sup> 8 ἀνάμεστα] ἀναλύεσθαι CS<sup>b</sup>, correxerat Vict. in mg. 9 μόνον] μῦθον S<sup>b</sup> οὖτω] αὐτῷ C, S<sup>b</sup> 12 πάντων] τῶν πάντων S<sup>b</sup> 13 δὲ] δὴ C mg.<sup>o</sup> S<sup>b</sup> 14 παιᾶνά C, παιῶνα S<sup>b</sup>

205, 1 τῶν] ita C, τὸν S<sup>b</sup>, τον C mg.<sup>o</sup> τοῖος συγκειμένον CS<sup>b</sup>: 'ηρ. τὸν...συγκειμένον' Vict. 7 τα τε ἄλλα C<sup>o</sup> corr. C mg.<sup>o</sup> 8 τάστην] πασχ C, ἀπασιν S<sup>b</sup> ὥρισται] ὥριστο C, ἔνι S<sup>b</sup>, ὥρισται C mg.<sup>o</sup>, φ Vict. mg. 8, 9 αὐτοσχέδιον μάλα καὶ CS<sup>b</sup> 10 τὸν] om. C ἵνα] ἵνα δὲ C, ἵνα δὴ S<sup>b</sup> 13 παίων S<sup>b</sup> 15 ὑμῶν] ἥμῶν C

206, 1 κατακεκλασμένους] κατακλωμένως CS<sup>b</sup> 10 ἐπιτηδευμάτων C, corr. mg.

207, 3 δ] om S<sup>b</sup> ὅταν] ἢ Ald. ὅτι ἀν S<sup>b</sup>, ὅταν C mg.<sup>o</sup>, mg. Vict. 'ρ'. sic in R.' ὅμοιως C, .φ. (an ὅτε) C mg. 3 γράφοι CS<sup>b</sup> 7 τὰ μήκη... 8 τῶν ὄνομάτων] om. CS<sup>b</sup> 8 ὄνομάτων] ita

Steph., *sed ῥημάτων* Par. 1798 *unde eum haec traxisse putat* Usener.  
*vide* p. xii. n. 12 12 δὲ] δὴ S<sup>b</sup> 13 ἀποκρούσετο τοιαῦτα C  
 ἀποκρούσατο ταῦτα S<sup>b</sup> 15 τοσαῦτης δόξης CS<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup>, ἀνὴρ ἡξωμένος S<sup>b</sup>  
 208, 2 αὐτὸν] αὐτὸν CS<sup>b</sup> 3 παραλαμβάνειν CS<sup>b</sup> 4 ἔχειν CS<sup>b</sup>  
 9 ὁ μὲν γε C, ὁ μέν γε S<sup>b</sup> *cf.* 604, 13 10 ἀποφαίνοντιν ἐν] *om.* CS<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup>. *An haec vv. ex Par. 1798 inseruit Stephanus?* *Tacet* Usener.  
 συνετάξαντο C 12 διέλειπεν S<sup>b</sup>

209, 2 καὶ τὰ] τὰ S<sup>b</sup> 4 τῆς] τὴν S<sup>b</sup> ποκ τῆδε 5 εἰς Πειραιᾶ]  
 πιερεῦ C Ἀρίστωνος] Κεφάλον CS<sup>b</sup> 8 μήτ' ἐννόημα] *om.* CS<sup>b</sup>  
 13 φέβλια C, φλέβια S<sup>b</sup> 15 τὴν τῆς τέχνης ἀκρίβειαν S<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup> δη]  
 τε δὲ C, τε δὴ S<sup>b</sup> Vict. 'v'

210, 1 τις] τις ἀν CS<sup>b</sup> 3 αὐτῶν C 4 πεσεῖν CS<sup>b</sup> 5 δὲ η̄  
 χρόνιος S<sup>b</sup>, δὲ η̄ χρόνοις C<sup>l</sup>, δὲ οἱ χρόνοι ὡς E<sup>b</sup> 6 μελετωμένον CS<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup>  
 9 ἐνεργία C<sup>l</sup> 10 καὶ θαρίζειν C 13 καὶ] *om.* CS<sup>b</sup> 15 ὅτε  
 η̄ πολλὴ ἀσκησις αὐταῖς εἰς φύσεως ισχὺν (*ἰσχὴν* C) κατέστησε τὸ  
 ἔθος CS<sup>b</sup>

211, 6 ἐκλαμβάνομεν S<sup>b</sup> 11 ὅταν τε C 15 πᾶν] πάνυ C  
 212, 4 κεκρατημένως CS<sup>b</sup> 8 τε καὶ C 10 ἔχω λέγειν S<sup>b</sup>  
 11 ὅπερ C 12 τῶν ὀνομάτων C 13 τὸν δὲ] τὸν δὴ S<sup>b</sup>  
 213, 5 ἀλλήλοις C, ἀλλήλαις S<sup>b</sup>E<sup>b</sup> 8 ἔξεστι CS<sup>b</sup> 13 δια-  
 λύσωσι CS<sup>b</sup> 16 ἐμβάλλοντιν CS<sup>b</sup>

214, 1 συμμέτρους] πολυμέτρους CS<sup>b</sup> 4 ὁμοειδῶν CS<sup>b</sup> 12 ὡς  
 ἄρα C *mg.* <sup>o</sup>, Vict. 'p', ὡς ίδιαν C

215, 1 τῶν] *om.* C 3 τὸ δὲ πολιτικῶν C πολὺ τὸ] τὸ πολὺ<sup>ν</sup>  
 CS<sup>b</sup> 4 ποιημάτων] *ita* CS<sup>b</sup> 6 αὐτὸ] *om.* CS<sup>b</sup> 11 δέ] ὁ τοῦ  
 CS<sup>b</sup> καλεῖται] ὅμοιος καλεῖται CS<sup>b</sup> 12 ἀμάρτοι] *ita* C, *om.* S<sup>b</sup>  
 14 οὐδὲν...ταρατόμενος] *ita* C, Vict. 'p': *om.* S<sup>b</sup>

216, 2 μὲν] *om.* CS<sup>b</sup>

217, 1 οὐν] *om.* S<sup>b</sup> 2 ταῦτ'] *om.* C 4 ἔτερον δὲ] *om.* S<sup>b</sup>  
 5 χῶροι ἀν C 6 τεμνον C, τέμνοντος S<sup>b</sup> *supra scr.* -a 10 ἡ̄ οἱ]  
*ita* C, οἱ || οἱ E<sup>b</sup>, οἱ οἱ S<sup>b</sup> 12 ἡμιστιχίων CS<sup>b</sup> 14 δέ] δὲ CS<sup>b</sup>  
 16 τὸν τρίτον ποιοῦν C, τὸν τρίτον ποιοῦντα S<sup>b</sup> 17 ἔπειτ' αὐθις...  
 ἡμενον] *ita* C *mg.* <sup>o</sup> (-ροδόμῳ), 'p': *om.* S<sup>b</sup>, ἀφηρημένον τοῦτο οὐ συνε-  
 τρέχον οὐδὲ τούτῳ C<sup>l</sup>

218, 4 καὶ] καὶ κατὰ C, κατὰ S<sup>b</sup> 8 ἐποίσει] *ita* C *mg.* <sup>o</sup> Vict. *mg.*  
 ἐποίει CS<sup>b</sup> 13 τὸν λόγον] *om.* S<sup>b</sup>, τὸν *om.* C 16 ταῦτι] *om.* C

219, 3 κώλον C 4 ὥστε πέτραν C, S<sup>b</sup> (πέτρον), πέτραν 'p' Vict.  
 δυσχείμερον S<sup>b</sup>, δεισχημέρων C, η̄ *in ras.* 6 τὸ] τὸ δὲ C 8 μεί-  
 ζονα] *om.* S<sup>b</sup>

220, 1 αὐτὴ CS<sup>b</sup> 8, 9 ἐνθα μητέρες ἐμὴν ὀδίνων σε ἐπυθνιαν S<sup>b</sup>

221, 3 δὲ] *ita* C, δὴ S<sup>b</sup> 4 ταῦτα] *om.* S<sup>b</sup> 5 τῆς] *om.* C  
6 ἀντίστροφον S<sup>b</sup> 7 διειρόμενος] *ita* C, εἰσειρόμενος S<sup>b</sup> η] *om.* C  
8 δὸν η] S<sup>b</sup> δαδαλαῖα C

222, 1 βρέμη] τ' ἐμῇ C, τε μὴν S<sup>b</sup>, κινειθεῖσα C 2 ἔριπεν CS<sup>b</sup>,  
ἀδίαν ταῖσι C, ἀδιάντησι S<sup>b</sup> 3 πέρσει CS<sup>b</sup> 4 χέραν C τε· ὡ]  
τ' ὡ C, εἰπε τε ὡ τέκος S<sup>b</sup> 5 οὐδὲ αὐταῖς ἐγαλαθηνωδεῖ θεικνο-  
ώσσεις C, οὐδὲ αὐταῖς ἐγαλαθηνωδεῖ κνοώσσεις S<sup>b</sup> 6 δύναντι C,  
δούρατι S<sup>b</sup>

223, 2 κναναίψ C, τὰ δὲ εἰς αὐλέαν δὲ OS<sup>b</sup> (τά C) 4 περίοντος C  
5 φθόγγον CS<sup>b</sup>, πορφυρέα C 6 πρόσωπον καλὸν πρόσωπον CS<sup>b</sup>  
7 ἡν] η] S<sup>b</sup> 8 κέκεν C, λεπτῶν OS<sup>b</sup> 9 εὗδε C, εὐ δὲ S<sup>b</sup>  
10 εὐ δὲ τῶδε ἐπόντος, εὐ δὲ τῷ ἀμετρον S<sup>b</sup> 11 ματαιοβουλία C,  
μεταβουλία S<sup>b</sup> 13 τεκνόφι δίκας] κνοφιδίκας CS<sup>b</sup> μοι] σύγγνωθί<sup>1</sup>  
μοι CS<sup>b</sup>

224, 4 αὐταῖς] αὐτὸν ταῖς CS<sup>b</sup>, αὐτὸν S<sup>b</sup> 6 γε δίχα CS<sup>b</sup> 8 η]  
*om.* CS<sup>b</sup> C τέλος τοῦ Διονυσίου.

A. B. POYNTON.

## CRITICAL NOTES ON VALERIUS FLACCUS.

I. 848 sq.                    *tum porta quanta sinistra*  
                                  *poena docet maneat Pelian quo limine monstrat.*

Baehrens read '*quod limine monstrum*,' Langen '*quae limine monstra*.' Better than either would be *quot...monstra*. Here, as so often elsewhere, Valerius has Virgil before him Aen. 6. 285 '*multaque praeterea uariarum monstra ferarum | Centauri in foribus stabulant Scyllaeque biformes* e. q. s.

III. 332 sqq.

interea innumeras nudatis montibus urgunt  
certatim decorantque pyras et corpora maesti  
summa locant: uadit sonipes ceruice remissa,  
uenatrix nec turba canum pecudumque morantur.  
funereae que cuique manus, quae cura suorum,  
quae fortuna fuit.

For *funereae* Thilo proposed *inferiae* excellently, but discom-  
mended his emendation by removing the stop at 'morantur'  
and altering the next words to 'quod cuique genus.' With the  
old correction, a simple change of spelling, we have

*inferiae, quae cuique manus, quae cura suorum,*  
*quae fortuna fuit.*

The sense is: 'offerings were brought to the several dead  
corresponding to their valour (cf. Virg. Aen. 6. 879 'inuicta  
bello dextera'), the affection of their friends or their fortune  
(means).' For 'cura suorum' cf. Thuc. 2. 34. 2 ἐπιφέρει τῷ  
αὐτοῦ ἔκαστος ην τι βούληται.

448 sq. . . . . ite perempti  
ac memores abolete animas.

*animos* 'resentment' is required by the sense; but I cannot find that it has yet been proposed, though the less obvious *minas* has been suggested.

613 iamque morae impatiens cunctantes increpat ausus  
Tiphys et oblato monet otia rumpere cursu.

It is just possible that Valerius ventured on *ausus*, acc. plur. (= *ausa*); but it is safer to read *orsus*, a rare equivalent of *orsa*.

v. 468 sq. . . . . postquam primis inhiantia dictis  
agmina suppressumque uidet iam murmur Iason,  
talia miranti propius tulit orsa tyranno.

For *propius* Baehrens suggested *promptus*; but we should read *properus*.

VII. 32 ille autem iam iam uultus uocesque parantem  
ante aperit rumpitque moras inque ipsa morantis  
prosilit ora uiri talique effunditur ira.

*parantem*, so most recent editors rightly read, is incompatible with *aperit*, for which we should surely read *RAPit*. Its *e* may have got into the text in the same way as in *parentem*, which V reads in the line immediately preceding.

338 'occidis, heu, primo—potes hoc durare?—sub aeuo  
nec tu lucis' ait 'nec uideris ulla iuuentae  
gaudia nec dulces fratris pubescere malas.  
hunc quoque qui nunc est crudelis Iasona nescis  
morte perire tua, qui te nunc inuocat unam,  
qui rogat et nostro quem prima in litore uidi?'

V fails us here. The Monacensis has 'o crudelis,' Vaticanus 1653 and the Codex Carrionis 'primaevus.' Could anything be more wretched than *qui nunc est* 'who is now alive'? Corrupt though it is, it conceals the truth, *primaevum*. In

the common ancestor of these codices *primeuū* was corrupted to *quinūcē*, but afterwards corrected. Thus:

qui nūc ē \* crudelis      \* primeuū

The correction was neglected in one branch of the tradition, and in the other, in the form 'primaevus,' it ousted the equally genuine *crudelis*. The combination of the two traditions gives an excellent sense:

hunc quoque primaeuum, crudelis, Iasona nescis  
morte perire tua?

VIII. 147 sqq.

quid terris solam te credis Achaeis?  
quis locus Inachias inter tibi, barbara, natas?  
istane uota domus expectatique hymenaei?  
hunc petii grandaeua diem?

In 148 *natas* must be corrected to *nVptas*. The mother of Medea, the drift of whose thoughts is indeed sufficiently indicated by 149 'uota domus' and 'hymenaei,' anticipates what the runaway daughter later realizes herself; Eur. *Medea* 591 (addressed to Jason) *οὐ τοῦτο σ' εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ βάρβαρον λέχος | πρὸς γῆρας οὐκ εὔδοξον ἐξέβαινε σοι.* Baehrens has removed the same corruption from Prop. 2. 9. 17.

J. P. POSTGATE.

## EMENDATIONS OF QUINTUS SMYRNAEUS.

THE MSS. may be briefly described thus: P first, M second (M contains only books I—IV 10 and XII), the rest inferior but often valuable; in some instances they preserve even whole lines which are absent from P.

The older editors were not acquainted with the readings of P; I depend for them upon Zimmermann's edition (Teubner).

A remarkable feature of the text is the frequency with which the ends of lines are corrupt. I shall make a good many suggestions at the ends of lines, and entreat my reader, if I get one, to consider carefully the following examples of corruption before he goes on to what I have to say for myself.

- i 9. ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἵαψεν MP, ἀπέταμνε κάρηνα cet.
- 18. ῥεέθρων MP, ῥοάων cet.
- 247. δούρατι μακρῷ MSS., δούρατι τύψας Spitzner.
- 257. ἡτορ MSS., αἰών Rhodomann.
- iii 621. λεχέεσσι versu infecto MP, λεχέεσσι μυγῆναι cet., M<sup>2</sup>, δαμάζειν Rhod., δαμάσσαι Koechly.
- v 313. ἄλλοι MSS., ἀλκήν Zimmermann.
- vi 328. ὄφωρει MSS., ὕκανεν Rhod.
- vii 307. θαλάσσης MSS., θύελλαι Rhod.
- viii 234. κελαινὸν PV, καὶ ἴδρως cet.
- ix 451. κοπέντα MSS., κοπεῖσαν Rhod.
- 539. πόληα. PVE, κέλευθα cet.

Considering these and many other instances which might be adduced, I must needs conclude that the archetype had

suffered a good deal at the right hand side of the page. Hence I have in several lines proposed readings which would be too bold changes anywhere except at the end.

Moreover the editors make all sorts of changes which are pretty violent, all over the line; we are not dealing with a carefully preserved text at all here, but with one which moth and rust hath devoured. Perhaps the real difference is that we have a text which has not been edited and doctored into seeming correctness by Alexandrine or other nefarious predecessors of ourselves.

i 12. "Εκτορά θ' ως ἐδάμασσε καὶ ἀμφείρυσσε πόληι.  
πόληα. If there were any doubt, compare i 112, xiv 133.

i 37. ως δ' ὅτ' ἀν' οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἐν ἀστράσι δῖα σελήνη  
ἐκπρέπει ἐν πάντεσσιν ἀριξῆλη γεγανῖα  
αἰθέρος ἀμφιραγέντος ὑπὰν νεφέων ἐριδούπων.

Koechly has a long note to defend *ὑπὰν* (for which he writes *ὑπό*). He proves what no one has ever denied, that *ὑπὸ νεφέων* may mean "from below"; he does not prove that either moon or ether can be spoken of as moving "from below" the clouds. Tychsen's *ὑπὲκ* does not improve things. Why not *ὑπέρ*? Take it with *ἐκπρέπει*.

i 93. ή δ' ἄρ' ὑπέσχετο ἔργον, οὐ οὕποτε θυητὸς ἐώλπει.  
So MSS., and so Koechly in his first edition, but afterwards he went astray and has lured Zimmermann after him by reading *οὐ τ'.* But *οὐ* is right; cf. Homer *γ* 275:

*ἐκτελέσας μέγα θέργον οὐ οὕποτε θέλπετο θυμῷ.*

If any change *were* needed, *οὐ γ'* would be better. Quintus admits hiatus quite freely if he is or thinks himself warranted by Homer.

i 186. κλῦθι, πάτερ, καὶ λαὸν Ἀχαιικὸν ἡματι τῷδε  
δὸς πεσέειν ὑπὸ χερσὶν Ἀρηιάδος βασιλείης,  
καὶ δὴ μιν παλίνορσον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα σάωσον.  
καὶ δὴ μιν M, καὶ δὴ ἡμὶν P, καὶ δὴ μιν cet. Koechly declares

that *ἡμῖν* will not do, in which I agree with him, but objects to *δῆ μιν* on the ground that if *καὶ δῆ* is temporal it is neither sense nor according to the practice of Quintus, and if it is defended (as by Naegelsbach) by Homer A 161, that "non quadrat" neither. No, but it may be defended another way. In the passage which Quintus plainly has in mind, Z 306, we read :—

*Ἔξον δῆ ἔγχος Διομήδεος, ἡδὲ καὶ αὐτὸν  
πρηνέα δὸς πεσέειν κ.τ.λ.*

That is what Quintus is following with unequal steps, and that is why he has stuck in his *δῆ* here; he has made a mess of it; true, but he generally does. The modern vulgate is Hermann's *καὶ δέ αὖ μιν*, which seems to me worse than ever.

i 253. *λῦσε μόρος ψυχὴ δέ ἐμίγη πολυαέστιν αὔραις.*

Correct *δὲ μίγη*. So at 621 e.g. Quintus says *ἄκα μίγη* (not *ἄκε' ἐμίγη*) to preserve the natural caesura in the third foot, which Koechly somewhere remarks should be given whenever possible<sup>1</sup>. So also at i 547 read *δὲ βάλεν*, iii 682 *τε βάλον*, iv 439 *δὲ βάλεν*, v 652 restore *δὲ γάνυντ'* from P and other MSS., vi 61 *πρόσθε φάμην*, vi 631 *τε βάλεν*, x 430 *με λίπεν*.

i 420. *η οὐχ ὄράτε γυναικα μέγ' αἰζηδῶν προφέρουσαν;*  
What the reading of P is I do not find stated, M has *ὄράτε* with the accent crossed out, the rest *ὄράτε*. *ὄράτε* Rhodemann, *όρατε* Tychsen. Spitzner abuses the last, but apparently he and others seriously think that *όράτε* might be scanned as a third paeon. Read *όράσθε*.

The only justification I can find for *όράτε* is the corrupt line (Hesiod *Opp.* 241) *ὅς τις (κεν Aeschin. in Ctes. 135) ἀλιτραίνει (-νη Aeschin.) καὶ ἀτάσθαλα μηχανάται* (MSS. of Aeschines vary between *μηχανάται* and *μητιάται*). The right reading is plainly *ὅς τις ἀλιτραίνη—μηχανάται* (cf. Monro *Hom. Gr.* §§ 266, 362). Quintus would certainly never have thought of imitating this.

i 472. *οὐ τι.* Read *οὔτε*.

<sup>1</sup> Compare e.g. viii 343, ix 265, 481, x 105 (MSS.), 487, xiv 627 (MSS.).

i 509. *κλαγγὴν γὰρ στονόεσσαν ἐσέκλυνεν οὐασιν οῖσιν.*

*ἐσέκλυνεν* M, *ὑπέκλυνεν* cet. (P?). Read *ἐπέκλυνεν*, a word used by the poet at vii 30, 344, xiii 34, xiv 620 (?), whereas he never says *ἐσκλύνειν*. Indeed it is doubtful if there ever was such a word at all.

Cf. i 98, *ἐπάκουσεν* MP, *ἐσάκουσεν* cet.

i 621. *ἡ δ' ὥκα μίγη κονίη καὶ ὀλέθρῳ.*

I was rather pleased with myself for conjecturing *κονίη τε λύθρῳ τε*, the latter being a favourite word of Quintus. I find the same conjecture made by Koechly who afterwards condemned it as bad, and defends the text by Nonnus xxxvi 212, *ὅμιλες γείτονι ποτμῷ*, and xxxviii 210, *ὅμιλησεν ὀλέθρῳ*. But these passages are nowise parallel. The objection to the line of Quintus is the extraordinary mixture "dust and death"; no one would have minded his saying *μίγη ὀλέθρῳ* or *μίγη κονίη* separately, but the two together are mere comedy. Nonnus says nothing about *κονίη* in either passage, nor anything like it. I think therefore that *λύθρῳ* must be what Quintus said. But I. T. Struve remarks that he always uses the dative of *κονίη* in the plural; hence he proposes *κονίης*. Are we not then led rather to suppose that the original was *κονίησι λύθρῳ τε*? The *τε* dropped out at the end of the line, and then the rest was badly corrected to *κονίη καὶ ὀλέθρῳ*.

Compare ii 355:

*πολλοὶ δ' ἐν κονίησι καὶ αἴματι θυμὸν ἔλειπον  
Αἰθιόπων ὑπὸ χερσί· λύθρῳ δ' ἐφορύνετο γαῖα.*

i 669.

*πολλοὶ δ' εὐχετώντο κατ' οἰκία νοστήσαντες  
τοίης ἀλόχοοι παρὰ λεχέεσσιν ιαῦσαι.*

So the best MSS. *τοιαύτης* (Scaliger) seems to me the best correction of *τοίης*. Penthesilea is lying dead; the Greeks are making mental reflexions upon her appearance. Koechly declares that "cum addatur *κατ'* οἰκία νοστήσαντες, patet bonos illos maritos non aliis agitari impudicisque libidinibus, sed id

tantum suo jure pie optare, ut quas ante hos decem annos domi reliquerint uxores, non vetulas et subturpiculas, sed tales inventuri sint, qualem hic conspiciant Penthesileam. Hoc vero poeta τοίης ἦς ἀλόχοοι scripsit." He goes on to give examples of "cumulata pronomina"; well and good, but what he does not give examples of is the hideous cacophony of *τοίης ἦς*, of which I cannot believe that our poet would have been guilty. The same objection applies to Zimmermann's *τοίης ἦς ἀλόχοιστι*, and the change to the dative is based on an error. Quintus was thinking of Homer σ 213:

πάντες δὲ ἡρήσαντο παρὰ λεχέεσσι κλιθῆναι.

Now Homer of course did not mean *παραὶ* to govern *λεχέεσσι*, but it is obvious that Quintus thought he did, and therefore proceeded to tack on the genitive *ἀλόχοιο* to depend on his *λεχέεσσι*; then having altered *κλιθῆναι* to *λαῦσαι* he flattered himself he had done enough to shew himself a truly original poet. *τοιαύτης ἀλόχοιο* then is the safest thing to keep, meaning of course what Koechly says. Then for *παρὰ* in Quintus restore *παραὶ* from the inferior MSS. on the strength of the Odyssean line. It was very likely a conjecture on their part, but if so it was right.

i 699. δ δ ἀκαμάτῳ ὑπὸ φοίβδῳ  
εσσυτ' ἀναθρόσκων μάλα ταρφέα.

A great stone bowling down a mountain. *pol\xi\o* Koechly, but "whistling" is scarcely in place; he had better have suggested *\pom\xi\o*, but it is only necessary to look at the dictionary to see that *pol\xi\o* is right.

i 736. οὐ γάρ τερπωλῆς ὅλοώτερον ἄλλο βροτοῖσιν  
ἔστι λέχος ἴεμένης.

I do not understand how *τερπωλὴ ἵεται*. Should we read *ιεμένων*? The change from the dative *βροτοῦσιν* to the genitive is characteristic of Quintus, e.g. i 675, "Αρεὶ δ' ἔμπεσε πένθος... ἀκτηχεμένου. Or you can read *ιεμένοις* if you prefer it; I incline to think the other more likely.

i 741.

 $\phi\bar{\eta}$  μέγα νεικείων.

$\tilde{\eta}$  Koechly *ex dett.* and so also at ii 81, vii 287. Surely this is absurd; what should have possessed anyone to corrupt  $\tilde{\eta}$  into  $\phi\bar{\eta}$ ? And this use of  $\phi\bar{\eta}$  after a speech, along with a participle, is Homeric, e.g. Φ 361,  $\phi\bar{\eta}$  πυρὶ καιόμενος. Quintus may be allowed a certain amount of variety, poor creature, wooden though he be.

ii 49. ἀλλ' ἄγε, μηδὲ πόληος ἔῆς ἀποτῆλε φυγόντες  
αἴσχεα πολλὰ φέρωμεν ἀναλκείγ ̄πο λυγρῆ  
ἀλλοδαπὴν περόωντες ἐπὶ χθόνα, μηδ' ἔτι πάτρη  
μίμνοντες κτεινώμεθ' ὑπ' Ἀργείων ὄρυμαγδοῦ.

But what is  $\mu\bar{\eta}\delta\bar{\epsilon}$ — $\mu\bar{\eta}\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ ? The first cannot mean “not even” or “not either,” and it cannot be construed as a connecting particle after  $\ddot{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon$ : one says  $\ddot{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon$  φέρωμεν, not  $\ddot{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon$  φέρωμεν δέ. We must read  $\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\acute{e}$ — $\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\acute{e}$ . In 51 the MSS. give  $\mu\bar{\eta}$  δέ τε πάτρην or the like; Rhodomann appears to me to have hit the mark with  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\bar{\iota}$  πάτρη, the  $\nu$  at the end of πάτρην having possibly come from  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\bar{\iota}$ .

ii 79.

κείνης (γυναιξὶ) θυμὸν ἔοικας· ἐγὼ δέ τοι οὐ τι πέποιθα  
μαρναμένῳ πάντων γάρ ἀμαλδύνεις θρασὺ κάρτος.

Paris is speaking to Polydamas. The beautiful παρφαμένῳ of Lehrs ought surely to replace μαρναμένῳ. Koechly says that “παρφάμενος dicitur, qui ira aliove animi impetu abreptum blandis prudentibusque verbis sedat et lenit.” He has forgotten Homer, M 249: παρφάμενος Φεπέεσσιν ἀποτρέψεις πολέμοιο, which words are actually addressed to Polydamas by Hector. I hardly think anyone can compare the whole of the two passages without being brought over to Lehrs’s conjecture.

ii 230. εὐτ' αἰγὶς βερέθροισιν ὑποχθονίων ἐπορούσῃ.

Such is Zimmermann’s pretty restoration of the corrupt εὐτε γαιής μελάθροισιν ὑποχθονίην. It needs one final touch; ὑποχθονίων will never do; Quintus wrote ὑποχθονίη. Hiatus of this sort is very common in him, e.g. ii 155, ἀνπνοσίνη

ἀλεγειτή. However it here caused a double corruption, ὑποχθονίη in MP, ὑποχθονίοις in the inferior MSS.

ii 309. ὡς γέρον, οὐ μοι ἔοικε καταντία σεῖο μάχεσθαι  
πρεσβυτέροιο γεγώτος, ἐπεὶ γε μὲν οἶδα νοῆσαι.

γένεν οἶδα Hermann, περίοιδα Herwerden, φρεσὶν οἶδα Zimmermann. None of these are near the MSS.; read θέμιν οἶδα νοῆσαι.

ii 323. ὡς ὅφελόν μοι  
ἀλεκή ἔτ' ἐμπεδος ἦεν, ἵνα γνάης ἐμὸν ἔγχος.

*γνάης* is read by modern editors. I doubt however whether Quintus would have used such a form as *γνάης*. About subjunctives and optatives the poor man is in a parlous state. The optative is with him a decaying mood, as shewn clearly by Koechly in his prolegomena; in final clauses, even after past tenses, he regularly uses a subjunctive unless the metre demands an optative. He will even use both together in the same final clause.

But now, if you please, consider the following passages:—  
ii 46, δεῖδω μὴ δαμεῖη, viii 21, ὅφρα μὴ ἀμπινεύσῃ ἀλλὰ φαίη,  
ix 240, ὡς δ' ὅτε σὺς ἀποστεύησι, λέων δὲ φανεῖη, xiv 63, ὡς δ'  
ὅτε ἀλωμένοισι πατρὶς φανεῖη, οἱ δὲ ὀρέγονται. In all of these, and plenty more like them, we have the optative used, and used wrongly too, where it would have been perfectly easy to say δαμῆη, φήη, φανῆη. What is the conclusion? That Quintus did not admit such long forms of the subjunctive at all; he preferred even the despised optative.

So here read *γνοίης*.

I should have rather expected him to say ὅπως ἔγνως, cf. iv 30, v 206, 218, vii 701, but he always uses *ὅφρα* in this idiom. Apollonius also uses *ὅφρα* in this way. Probably Quintus conceived of *ὅφρα* as = *until* rather than *in order that*, and would have avoided *ὅπως* with an indicative as unintelligible to him.

The only similar forms that can be quoted from him, I think, are δώη (sic) at v 145, where read δοίη, and δώωσι at

vii 155. This last is the only one actually given by the MSS., and there the optative would not scan.

ii 398. For *δάιξεν* read *δάιξεν*, the aorist is nonsense: the same correction was made by Pauw rightly at vi 248.

ii 424. *τῇ ἐπὶ πάντα τελεῖται ἀτείρεος ἔνδον Ὀλύμπου.*  
Read *τέταλται* and compare Homer B 643, λ 524.

ii 453. If here and also iv 33, 46, 215, 545, vi 283, viii 163, ix 241, xi 12, *έτέρωθι* has really been corrupted to *έτέρωθε*, it is nothing short of a miracle. The sense is better suited by *έτέρωθε* in every instance, and in my opinion it should be restored again. Indeed at xi 328 I would make the opposite correction on the strength of the poet's usage and the sense.

ii 577. *σῶμ' ἀναειρόμενοι μογεροὶ φορέωσιν ἔταιροι.*

*ἀναγειρόμενοι* was the old reading, *ἀναειρόμενοι* was conjectured by Koechly and is the reading of M (and of P?). But a further change is needed to *ἀναειράμενοι*, for the present is wrong. The passages referred to by Koechly in illustration of the verb have every one of them the aorist.

ii 616. *οὐ γάρ ἀτιμοτέρη Νηρηΐδος ή Διὸς αὐτὴ πάντ' ἐπιδερκομένη.*

Spoken by Aurora. Of the corrections proposed ή Διὸς αὐτοῦ seems to me far the best, but Koechly objects to it because "nec articulus junctus cum participio, nec Διὸς αὐτοῦ aptum ex πάντα Quinti consuetudine commendatur." Credo. But there is a more excellent way. Put a comma after αὐτοῦ and take πάντ' ἐπιδερκομένη as *quae inspiciam*, not ή ἐπιδερκομένη as *quae inspicio*.

ii 628. *Τρῶες δ' ἀστεος ἔνδον ἔσαν περὶ Μέμνονι θυμὸν ἀχνύμενοι.*

It is hard to say whether *ἔσαν* is worse if taken as an auxiliary verb with *ἀχνύμενοι* or if taken separately, as "they were in the city." Read *ἴσαν*.

ii 651.      'Ηλύσιον πέδον αἴης.

Who ever heard of such an expression? At iii 159 and vi 374 we find *πέδον γαῖης*, the soil of earth, a natural expression enough. But you could not say the "Elysian soil of earth" or "plain of earth." At xiv 224 he says *Ηλύσιον πεδίον*, as one would expect. At xi 24 also *πέδον Λυκίης* is easy. Even the infelicitous conjecture of Gruebenau, *Λυκίης πέδον αἴης* (for *σχεδόν*, iv 6) is reasonable compared to this. Read *αἰεί*, and let the end of the line be responsible once more.

iii 57.      ὡς πόποι, ὡς ὅ γε μαίνετ' ἀνὰ φρένας.

οὖε?

iii 67.      ἀμφὶ δὲ παπτήρας ὀλοὸν καὶ ἄκρατον ὄμοκλα.

ολοὸν καὶ μακρὸν Spitzner, followed by Zimmermann. Heyne's ἔπος ἄκρααντον does not account for ὀλοὸν and is hardly satisfactory in itself. But I confess to finding ὀλοὸν καὶ μακρὸν intolerable; should we not read ὄμαδον κάτα μακρὸν ὄμοκλα?

{ iii 141.      οὐδὲ ἄρα οἱ Τρώων τις ἐτόλμα ἐγγὺς ικέσθαι.

{ iv 326.      ὑστερον ἀλλ' οὐ οἴ τις ἐτόλμα ἐγγὺς ικέσθαι.

In the second of these two lines P has ἐτόλμαεν ἐγγὺς, and the other MSS. ἐτόλμα ἐνεγγύς, ἐτόλμα ἐγγύς Hermann. The first line has no variant. The hiatus, however, is of a kind unexampled in our poet, and the MSS. reading of iv 326 is not likely to be a mere blunder for ἐτόλμα ἐγγύς. Look now at these forms; ii 547, ἐσύλεον ἀμφὶ δὲ Τρῶες, iii 93, μενοίνεον ἐχος ὁρέξαι, iii 382, σύλεον, vi 341, συνήντεον εὗτε βόεσσι, viii 74, ἐπέχραον ἐγχει δ' ἐγχος, ix 128, ἐπέχραον ἔθνεα πεξῶν, xiii 160, κυδοίμεον ἀλλοθεν ἀλλον, xiii 480, κυδοίμεον ἥγτ' ἀηται, xiv 522, ἐπέχραον ἀλλοθεν ἀλλα, xiv 602, ἐπέχραεν ἀνδράσι χείμα. Observe that in all these passages, except iii 382, the uncontracted syllables occur in the same place, before the bucolic diaeresis, and I think you will agree with me that if Quintus could say ἐπέχραεν he could and did say ἐτόλμαεν both in iv 326 and in iii 141.

Bucolic hiatus is common enough in him after a dactyl; it is never found after a spondee. vii 234 has been corrected by Spitzner.

iii 190.  $\omega$  φίλοι ει ἐτέόν μοι ἀρήγετε εύμενέοντες.  
 ἀρήγοιτ' Hermann, but ει ἐτέόν is only used with indicative by Quintus according to Koechly and the hiatus is unobjectionable in itself. Still ει ἀρήγετε, as Hermann saw, does not give the right sense ; read ἀρήξετε.

iii 199.  $\delta$  γὰρ κακὰ μῆσατο Τρῶας.

Quintus never governs an accusative by such a phrase as κακὰ μῆσατο. I suspect we should read Τρωσί. Cf. iv 55, μέγα δ' Ἑλλάδι μῆσαο πένθος.

iii 200. καὶ μιν Τρωιάδες μεγάλα φρεσὶ καγχαλόωσαι  
 ἀμφιπεριστήσονται ἀνὰ πτόλιν.

καὶ οἱ Τρωιάδες Zimmermann, rather arbitrarily. If μιν is wrong, which I do not feel sure about, it would be better to read καὶ μὴν or possibly καὶ μέν.

iii 348. ἐκ φόνου ἀργαλέοιο νέκυν Δαναοῖσι σαώσω.  
 Probably πόνου, an everlasting confusion.

iii 510. πάντη δὲ προσαγνυμένης ἀλὸς αἰεὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 ἀκταὶ ὄμῶς ῥηγμῖσιν ἀπειρέσιαι βούστι.

αἰεὶ strikes one as the ne plus ultra of feebleness ; I think that Quintus said ἄχνης and the end of the line went, and then αἰεὶ was stuck in to fill up.

iii 536. θῆκε δ' ἀρ' ἐρσήεντα καὶ εἰκέλον ἀμπνείοντι.

Koechly has a long note on iii 160, where ἀμπνείων is wrongly given by the MSS. (ἐκπνείων Rhod.), in which he shews abundantly that ἀμπνείων etc. are used of getting a respite, breathing again, as in Homer. " Praeterea ἀναπνέω bis in Quinto occurrit paullo diverso sensu, sed qui tamen ejus notio convenit, primum I, 343 ὅβριμον ἐν στήθεσσιν ἀναπνείοντες ἄρηα, tum quia respiratio certissimum est vitae signum, III, 536 de vivente ". He then quotes an emendation of C. L. Struve at iii 340, ἀμπνείοντα for ἐμπνείοντα and proceeds to make the same change himself at vi 526. (At iii 368 ἀναπνείοντες does not mean "breathing" but "getting a respite", as usual.)

The case then stands thus : ἀμπνείων is exceedingly common, ἐμπνείων very rare. Of the three places where we

want the meaning of "living", iii 340, 536, vi 526, the MSS. give ἐμπνείων in two. Is not the conclusion plain? Quintus says ἀμπνείων if he means "breathing again", "getting a respite". If he means "living" he says ἐμπνείων. In this place, iii 536, the far commoner ἀμπνείοντι has supplanted the correct ἐμπνείοντι, which should now be restored.

Koechly seems to suppose that ἐμπνείοντι could only mean "breathing upon." We may hope that he has been enlightened in another and a better world.

iii 626. ἀλλά μιν ὠκύμορον ποιήσατο καὶ μ' ἀκάχησε.

Thetis is mourning over Achilles, whom Zeus promised to make ἔκπαγλον καὶ ἀρήιον, and so he did, but went and spoilt it by also making him ὠκύμορον, and so—"grieved me"? No, thank you,—so deceived me, ἀπάφησε. Compare 502, v 181, 422, where the same correction was made by Bonitz and Rhodemann.

Just above (622) it is ridiculous to alter γιγνομένην to φανομένην now that the reading of P confirms the former in itself far better reading. Homer δ 417, 458, Lucian *Peregr.* §1, etc.

iii 631. ὡς ἔφατ' αἰνὰ γοῶσ' ἀλίη Θέτις· ή δέ οἱ αὐτὴν  
Καλλιόπη φάτο μῆθον.

Why Calliope *herself*? Read *αὐτε*.

iii 661. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπνος ἔμαρπτε θοὴν Θέτιν.

θοὴν Bonitz, θεὸν Lehrs. I should prefer θοὸς which is a natural enough epithet of sleep when we consider that it is a standing epithet of night.

iii 666. λαμπρότατον (sic) τε πᾶσι φάος Τρώεσσι  
φέρουσα.

So MP, corrected in the inferior MSS. by transposition of πᾶσι and φάος, though the accentuation is not put right. Starting from this point I conjecture τότε for τε. The meaning is that morning was very bright for the Trojans *that day*, because Achilles had been slain the day before.

iii 714. ἐνπνείοντες is an abominable word. Qu. ἐπι-  
πνείοντες (xiv 343).

iii 781. ὡς εἰπὼν ἐπὶ πόντον ἀπήνειν εἰκελος αὔρη.  
Posidon is the god in question, ἐπὶ could only mean "over the  
sea," but Posidon would go ὑπὸ πόντον, which read, comparing  
iv 110:

καὶ τότ' ἄρ' ἐκ πόντοιο κίεν Πηλῆος ἄκοιτις,  
αὔρη ὑπηώῃ ἐναλίγκιος.

If one can come *out of* the sea like a wind, one can go into it  
like one. Besides it only means "very quickly"; see v 396,  
xiv 223.

iv 86. ἀλλ' ἄγε, σὺν τεύχεσσι καὶ ἄρμασιν ἡδὲ καὶ  
ἴπποις  
ἰομεν ἀμφὶ πόληα πόνος δ' ἄρα κῦδος ὄρέξει.

No doubt ὄρέξει can be construed, but it strikes me that we  
here want a general reflexion. This would be given by ὄρεξε.  
Cf. iv 305.

iv 179. . . . οἱ δὲ νῆσοι ἄγον μέγα κυδαίνοντες  
ἀντίθεον βασιλῆα.

As in Homer, so in Quintus, *νῆσοι* often means the camp. But  
naturally *ἐσ* *νῆσοι* would mean "into the ships," and be  
ambiguous. Hence Quintus, if he mean "to the camp,"  
regularly says *ποτὶ* or *ἐπὶ νῆσοι*, according to the metre. Thus  
we have *ποτὶ* at i 824, iii 2, etc., *ἐπὶ* at vi 94, 495, 607, vii 126,  
viii 455, ix 62, 426, x 255, xi 352, xii 80, xiv 30, 43, 57, 85,  
329. But *ἐσ* *νῆσοι* is only found here, and at vii 96, *ἐσ* δ' ἄρος  
*νῆσοι* *ἴκοντο*, ix 326, *ἐσ* *νῆσοι* *χάσσαντο*, xii 101 = vii 96, 108 *ἐσ*  
*νῆσοι* καὶ λαόν. In all these four instances *ἐσ* begins the line  
and *ἐπὶ* would not scan; moreover in two of them *ἐσίκοντο* is  
really one word. Hence it seems plain that in iv 179 Quintus  
would have said *ἐπὶ νῆσοι*.

iv 307. οἰον ὅτ' ἀντίθεον Πελίην κατεθάπτομεν ἡμεῖς,  
αὐτὸς ἐγὼ καὶ Ἀκαστος, ἀνεψιοὶ εἰς ἐν λόντες.

For *εἰς* *ἐν λόντες* one may compare vii 565, xii 470, also *εἰς* *ἴκωνται* at iv 239, xiv 565, and *εἰς* *ἐν* is further used at ii 55.

xi 367, xii 210, 530. Only in all those places there is some point about it; here it is wretchedly weak. I cannot help thinking the poet said ἀνεψιοὶ εὐμενέοντες (cf. iii 190), having in his mind an echo of Pindar's εὐμενέοντες ἀνεψιόν (Pyth. iv 127), which words he may have supposed to go together grammatically.

iv 396. *τῶν δ' ἀμφιτετρυμένα τύμπατα πάντα*  
*ἡκέσατ' ἐνδυκέως Ποδαλείριος, οὐνεκ' ἄρ' αὐτὸς*  
*πρῶτα μὲν ἐκμύζησεν.*

*τάχα δέ σφι τετυμμένα* Zimm., but *τετυμμένα τύμπατα* will never do. Alia alii. Perhaps *τῶν δ' ἀμφὶ πεφυρμένα*, possibly also *πάντη*. For *ἀμφὶ πάντη* and *περὶ πάντη* are as common in Quintus as similes about lions and leopards; see ii 485, v 3, 52, vi 354, vii 118, 717, x 185, xi 418, 421, xiii 2, 42, 100, 371, 571, etc. "I like to be honest," as the tobacconist said when he explained to Mr Smith that he need not pay his bill because it had been "distributed over the other gentlemen's accounts," and so I will add that there is no instance in Quintus of *πεφυρμένα* without a dative. But at ii 485 he says *ἐφορύνετο γαῖα αἵματος ἐκχυμένοιο*, where *ἐφορύνετο* has no dative and cannot be connected with *αἵματος* as a partitive genitive. So I do not see why he should not have used *πεφυρμένα* as I suppose.

Then why *αὐτός*? He would not be likely to put on the apothecary's assistant. *αἷμα?* *Iliad* Γ 218. The end of the line is responsible as usual.

iv 514. *καρπαλίμως ζεύγλησι μέγ' ἔκθορον ἀσχαλόωντες.*  
 Horses starting in a chariot race. It is true they have just had the lash laid on to them, but you cannot believe that any one would say they started *ἀσχαλόωντες*. They have just been pawing and champing the bit in their eagerness to get off. Quintus then wrote *ἰσχανόωντες*.

Pauw oddly says "propter flagellorum ictus, quibus non excitanda erat eorum velocitas." He seems to think they were indignant at being struck when they didn't need it. *ἔκθορον* Tychsen for *ἔνθορον*.

iv 530. “ἀλλ’ οὐ μάν κεῖνός γε καὶ ἵππασίγσι μεμηλώς  
ἵππους ὠκύποδας τοίους ἔχει, ἀλλ’ ἄρα πολλὸν  
ποσσὶν ἀφαυροτέρους οἱ γάρ τ’ εἴδοντ’ ἀνέμοισιν.”  
ἢ μέγα κυδαίνων ἵππων μένος ἡδὲ καὶ αὐτὸν  
Ἄτρείδην.

Clearly then the horses “like the winds” are those of —  
Atrides, but who could ever guess that from *οἱ*? Read *σοὶ*.

iv 568. ἵππος ἔην· γενεῇ δὲ μάλ’ οὐ κακός, ἀλλὰ θοοῖο  
θεσπέσιον γένος ἔσκεν Ἀρίονος.

γενεῇ γε μὲν Koechly, contra metrum, for there is no caesura—  
practically, as the whole phrase γενεῇ γε μὲν coheres closely—  
together. Besides it is nowhere near the MSS. The same  
unmetrical conjecture is made by him at ix 208, where it is  
hopeless to guess at the original. Here I believe δὲ μάλ’ to be  
quite right. Cp. viii 382, *οἱ δὲ μάλ’ οὐ τι, λιλαιόμενοι περ*  
*ἰκέσθαι, ἐς νομὸν ἀίσσουσιν*, where no one has objected to the  
order of μάλ’ οὐ. Apoll. Rhod. iii 751, ἀλλὰ μάλ’ οὐ Μήδειαν  
ἐπὶ γλυκερὸς λάβειν ὑπνος.

iv 593. ἀλκῆς ἴμενον κρατερῶν ἀπέρυξεν ἀέθλων.

Odysseus did not yearn after *ἀλκή*, did he? What he would  
have liked would have been victory. ΝΙΚΗC and ΑΛΚΗC are  
easily confused.

v 67. ἐν δὲ χοροὶ ἵσταντο νέων παρὰ ποσσὶ γυναικῶν.

One of the scenes from the shield of Achilles. The line has  
been much tormented, but I believe it is right as it stands. If  
you compare these passages:

vi 63. *νίκη δὲ πέλει παρὰ ποσσὶν Ἀχαιῶν.*

vi 432. *παρὰ ποσσὶν δλεθρος*, “destruction is very nigh  
unto us.”

vii 549. *παρὰ ποσσὶν δλεθρον δερκόμενοι τρομέουσι.*

ix 191. *ἵπποιο θοοῦ παρὰ ποσσὶ πεσόντα.*

x 272. ὁ δὲ ἄρ’ αἰψα πέσεν παρὰ ποσσὸν γυναικός.  
(Paris falling before Oenone in prayer.)

x 300. *παρ ποσὶ σοῖσι πεσόντα.*

xii 292. ἄλγεα μὲν παρὰ ποσσὶ θεοὶ θέσαν ἀνθρώποισιν.

xii 384. παρὰ ποσὶ κάππεσον ἵππου.

xii 543. ἐν ποσὶ κείμεθ' ὀλέθρου (πελρατ' Hermann, τέρματ' Koechly; I think *κείμεθ'* is right).

If, I say, you look at all these lines, you see how recklessly Quintus uses *παρὰ ποσσὶ*. Sometimes literally meaning "at the feet," it comes to mean merely "near," as in vi 63, 432, vii 549, xii 292. Thus here I take it that *χοροὶ νέων* were represented dancing opposite to *χοροὶ γυναικῶν*, as in Σ 593—606, the passage Quintus is thinking of. He uses *παρὰ ποσσὶ*, just a little more oddly than usual, to mean *ἐναντίον*.

v 80. *νῆσος δὲ στονόεσσαι ὑπερ πόντοιο φέροντο.*  
*στονόεντος.*

v 88. *τοῖς δ' ἐπὶ κυδιόων καὶ κήτεσιν εἰναλίοισιν*  
*ἥσκητ' Ἐννοσίγαιος.*

*κυδιόων* Rhodomann, *μειδιόων*. For *καὶ* the same editor proposes *μετὰ* and is followed by the rest. *καὶ* is probably an ancient guess to fill up a gap, for which I should prefer *μέγα* to *μετά*. And for *ἐπὶ* query *ἐνι?* Posidon does not *κυδιάν* *ἐνὶ τοῖς (ναύταις)* but only *ἐπὶ κήτεσιν*. He is represented on the shield *among* the sailors.

v 99. *πάντα δ' ἄρ' ἐστεφάνωτο βαθὺς ρόος Ὄκεανοῖο.*

Koechly's parallels for *ἐστεφάνωτο* with a simple accusative are no parallels. At Apoll. Rhod. iii 1214 *μν* is governed by *τερίξ*. In the Orphic fragment *πάντη θεὸς ἐστεφάνωται πάντα ξωγόνων* the right reading is *ξωγονῶν* which governs *πάντα*. In Apollinaris *metaphr.* v 27, *ἡμέας ἐστεφάνωσας ἄτ' εὐδοκίης κλυτὸν ὅπλον*, also quoted by Koechly, we have such an accusative after the active no doubt, but I can only say that Apollinaris may have been an authority in the original Hebrew, he was not in Greek. Here read *πάντη δ' ἐστεφάνωτο*; it was corrupted to *πάντα* and *ἄρ'* thrown in to fill up.

v 154. *οὐνεκεν ἐσθλὰ καὶ ἄλγεα πολλὰ μόγησα.*

Read *οὐνεκ' ἐσθλα* (hardly *οὐνεκεν ἀθλα*). The same corruption in Bacchylides x 47 probably.

v 157. *τοῦνεκα Τρωσὶν ἐφῶμεν ἐύφροσι τίνδε δικάσσαι.*  
As *τίνδε* has nothing to agree with, and an ellipse such as that of *δίκην* "nec Quinto nec omnino Epicis sit usitatum," Koechly assumes a lacuna after this line. Did Quintus write *ἐνφροσύνηστ?*

v 217. Restore *πάσῃ* from P.

v 324. *χολὴ δ' ὑπερέβλυσεν αἰνή·  
ἥπατι δ' ἔγκατ' ἐμικτο.*

Such was the wrath of Ajax when Odysseus got the armour of Achilles. His gall might well overflow, but how his entrail could be mixt with his liver I entirely fail to understand. The gall-bladder lies upon the liver; if then the gall boil over from it, it of course mixes with, or at least flows on to, the liver, an Quintus, who knew more of anatomy than he did of poetry, said therefore *ἔγκατέμικτο.*

A Persian poet in such cases says: "His liver was filled with blood".

v 362. Considering the eternal interchange of *ξ* and *ζ* I suspect Quintus said *ἔρεξε.* It goes far better with *ἔμπεδα* than the aorist does.

v 493. *ώς δ' ὅταν εἰροπόκων δίων ἀπὸ νήπια τέκνα  
ἀνέρες ἔξελάσωσιν ἵνα σφίσι δαῖτα κάμωνται,  
αἱ δὲ μέγ' ἀσπαίρουσι διηνεκέως μεμακνιαὶ<sup>1</sup>  
μητέρες εὐτύκτους σηκοὺς περὶ χηρωθέντας.  
ώς οἵ γ' ἀμφ' Αἴαντα μέγα στένον ἤματι κείνω.*

*εὐτύκτους* Zimm., *ἐκ τεκέων.* For *μέγ' ἀσπαίρουσι* the accepted reading is Koechly's *μέγα σκαίρουσι*, the picture of the bereaved ewes dancing in their anguish about the pens being truly touching. *μέγα στενάχουσι* would be better, corresponding to *μέγα στένον*, as often in similes. But Quintus said *μέγ' ἀσχάλωσιν* (he never uses the form *ἀσχάλλειν*), a word frequent in him of animals. Thus it is used of a swallow at vii 330, of a lion at vii 465, of oxen at xi 210, a nightingale at xii 493, a leopard at xii 580.

v 561. ὡς γύνατ, οὐ νύ σέ τις δμωὴν ἔτι θήσεται ἄλλος  
Τεύκρουν ἔτι ζώοντος ἀμύμονος ἡδὲ ἐμεῦ αὐτοῦ.

Offended by the double ἔτι Koechly reads ποτε θήσεται. I think the text is right, the first ἔτι goes well with ἄλλος, the second ἔτι with ζώοντος, and at 519 we have εἰ που ἔτι ἀμφινέμονται ἔτι ζωοὶ Σαλαμῖνα, which is closely parallel.

vi 78. τελέσαιμ' ἄν?

vi 347. γάνυται δὲ μετὰ σφίσι θουκόλος ἀνήρ.

**σφίσι** = cattle. The phrase strikes me as absurd, and I think we should read μετὰ φρεσί; cp. *Iliad* Θ 559, γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα ποιμήν. I think the younger Struve was right in making the same change at xi 386.

vi 568. Πάμμονι δ' ἔμπεσε πένθος· ἄφαρ δέ ἐ θῆκεν ἀνάγκη  
ἄμφω καὶ βασιλῆα καὶ ἥνιοχον θοὸν ἄρμα.

**ἀνάγκη** Rhod. "Because he couldn't help it, his swift chariot made him both warrior and charioteer." "Sed ei rationi," says Koechly, "a Quinti simplicitate alienae praestat Brodaeus emendatio ἥνιοχεῖν, quam rec. Tychs. auctore Heynio." Brodaeus of course keeps ἀνάγκη. If however one thing more than another is "a Quinti simplicitate alienum," it is the construction θῆκε βασιλῆα καὶ ἥνιοχεῖν. It is true that Quintus uses either construction after τιθημι, also that Pindar combines both together like Brodaeus. It is also true that Quintus has a somewhat similar mixture at iv 113:

οἱ μὲν ἀεθλεύσοντες ἀπειρεσίφ ἐν ἀγῶνι,  
οἱ δὲ φρένας καὶ θυμὸν ἀεθλητῆρσιν ἰηνατ.

But this does not seem nearly so bold as the other.

At xi 157 we have θοοὶ χέρας. On the strength of this I should incline, ut in re valde incerta, to keep the MSS. reading, translating: "Necessity made him at once warrior and swift-charioted driver." But I confess to suspecting some much deeper corruption. Does not βασιλῆα look rather strange?

vi 631. ἐνθα Πάρις Μόσυνόν τε βάλεν καὶ ἀγήνορα  
Φόρκυν.

**ἐνθα** Rhod., ἀν (sic) δέ MSS., ἐν δὲ Pauw. The last has not

been accepted by later editors, yet it is nearest to the MSS. and suits the context better than ἐνθα. At viii 99 the MSS. have ἀνδ' (sic) Ἀγαμέμνων κτεῖνεν ἐν Στράτον, where again ἐν δ' seems to me the right correction (ἐνθ' Rhod.). This usage of ἐν δὲ for "and among the rest" or "and besides" scarcely needs any defence; however at xii 467 Lehrs actually introduces it for the corrupt ἐνθα, and at xii 518 the right reading is ἐν δὲ—ἀρύσαντο ἔκτοσθεν πυλέων. x 192, 199, are different. At xi 52 we have ἀν δὲ Φιλοκτήτης ὀλοφ βάλε Πείρασον ~~ι~~, "σὺν δὲ vel ἐν δὲ vel ἐνθὰ vel ἀλλά" Rhod.; ἐν δὲ seems to me again right. At xiii 220 Koechly reads ἐν δὲ for ἐνθα, but means it to be taken with ἐνέκυρσεν, so that again is different. At vii 309, ix 431 and xii 198 the MSS. give ἐν δὲ wrongly; at least it has been altered.

vii 382. *τοῦ δ' ιαίνετο θυμὸς ἐελδομένοιο καὶ αὐτοῦ.*

Generally corrected to *τοῦ δ' ἄρ' ιαίνετο*. I think the MSS. reading should be retained. It is an echo of *Iliad* ix 595, *τοῦ δ' ὠρίνετο θυμὸς ἀκούοντος κακὰ Φέργα*. For the quantity of the augmented *ιαίνετο* compare xi 161, xiii 63, 83.

vii 427. *πυρὶ νῆας ἐνιπρήσουσι μάλ' αἰνῶς.*  
μάλ' αἰνῶς is "very dreadful." I believe Quintus wrote μελαίνας.

vii 457. *ἀνέρες οὓς τ' ἀνέμοιο καταιγίδες ἀντιόωσαι  
εἴργουσιν μάλα πολλὸν ἐπὶ χρόνον, οἱ δ' ἀλεγεινοὶ  
νηὶ περιπρωχῶσι.*

Do they? "Per navem cursitant," says Rhodomann, "cum nave circumcursant," says Pauw more absurdly still. Heyne thinks they run round and round the ship in their impatience, but then it would be νηα, to say nothing of the sense. I opine that Quintus said περιπτώσσονσι.

vii 525. *μαιμώωντα?*

vii 539. *καὶ ἀμφασίην ἀλεγεινὴν  
κεῖθον ὑπὸ κραδίγ.*

To "conceal silence" is an incredible phrase at least for <sup>so</sup>

simple an author; they concealed what they thought ἀμφασίη ἀλεγεινῆ.

viii 29. Ἐλέιος θηγτὸν ἐπὶ χθόνα πῦρ ἀμαρύσσων,  
πῦρ, ὅτε οἱ πώλοισι καὶ ἄρμασι συμφέρετ' ἀστὴρ  
Σείριος.

Quintus is rather fond of the figure of speech called epanalepsis. But it is so absurdly pointless here that one cannot accept it; he wrote ὄππότε, which being carelessly copied as ὅτε was then expanded by the vain repetition of πῦρ from the line above. Cf. x 406, ὄππόσον P, ὅσον cet.

viii 57. ἐὴ δ' ἐκέλευεν ἔκαστον  
ἀλκὴ ἀνιηρὴν ἐσ φύλοπιν ὀτρύνουσα.

An infinitive is badly wanted after ἐκέλευεν; read probably ὀτρύνεσθαι.

viii 68. Ἐρις δ' ὄροθυνε καὶ αὐτή.

ἀλκὴ Koehly, better Ἀτη. It is true that Ἀτη is never spoken of in Homer or Quintus as stirring up battle, but neither is ἀλκὴ personified. And we must have a personification to go with Ἐρις.

viii 263. τί γὰρ ποτὶ δῆριν Ἀρηος  
λώιον, εὐτε βροτοῦσι κορυσσομένοις ἐπαμύνει;  
ἐπαμύνη P. The subjunctive is better in the general statement, so read ἐπαμύνῃ. So at x 250 read παλύνῃ.

viii 269. Restore στρέψωσι from P, as far better than τρέψωσι.

viii 307. τοῦ δ' αἰψα διὰ στέρνοιο ποτήθη  
αἰχμὴ ἀνιηρή, στομάχου δ' ἀπέκερσε κελεύθους.

I cannot stomach στομάχου κελεύθους. I know indeed that Quintus elsewhere is guilty of the truly amazing couplet:

ἐγχείγ κοῖλοιο διὰ στομάχοιο πέρησεν,  
ἢχι θοαι πόσιος τε καὶ εἰδατός εἰσι κέλευθοι,

a parody of Homer's

ἐγγὺς γὰρ νυκτός τε καὶ ἥματός εἰσι κέλευθοι,

but that will hardly defend *στομάχου κελεύθους*. Does it mean the oesophagus? Or the pyloric and cardiac orifices? — what? Comparing xii 406:

ἀχρὶ καὶ ἐς μήνυγγας ἵδ' ἐγκεφάλοιο θέμεθλα,  
and considering that it is at the end of a line, I would here restore *ἀπέκερσε θεμέθλους*, or perhaps better *θέμεθλα*, which fancy Quintus would prefer where metre allows it.

Lest anyone should suppose that *στομάχον* here signifies *throat* I add that the next line says: *μίγη δέ οι εἰδατα λύθρῳ*.

viii 358. Ιξεν 'Αθηναίων ιερὸν πέδον.

*πέδον 'Αθηναίων* seems a strange phrase. 'Αθηνάων? Homer says *γουνὸν 'Αθηνέων*, not 'Αθηναίων. It is true we have *ἐν πεδίῳ Τρώων* in the line before, but *πεδίον Τρώων* is Homeric.

viii 371. *ἐν* for *ἐπ'*?

viii 439. *ἔρξον ἐμεῦ ἀπονόσφιν· ἐλαφρότερον δέ μοι ἄλγος ἔσσεται, ἦν μὴ ἔγωγε μετ' ὅμμασιν οἰστιν ἔδωμαι.*

Ganymede is interceding with Zeus for the city of which he was so distinguished an ornament. But his emotion, however pathetic his character naturally is, would surely never lead him into such grammar as *ἴδεσθαι μετ' ὅμμασιν*. It could only mean "between my eyes," as in the Homeric *μετὰ χερσίν*, or Quintus's own *μετὰ γαμφηλῆσι* (vii 490), and this is the only shadow of justification in him, or else "in company with my eyes." The regular phrase is *ἐν*, as often in Homer and once in Quintus (iii 125). At ii 262 he has *παρ' ὁφθαλμοῖσιν*. I see nothing for it but to suppose that he said *παρ'* here (he would probably have not used *ἐν* as he would avoid the hiatus as a rule). ii 261—264 should be compared with viii 435—442, to which it is closely parallel. The change is violent, but not more so than many, e.g. in 458 *τοῦ νῦν* is read for *τοῖσιν*, in 490 P has *ἐπῆλθε* for *ἐχύθη*—but there is no end to it if I begin.

At i 46 indeed MP give *μετ' ἔγχεῖ κυδιώσα*, but the other MSS., and all editors of course, read *μέγ'*. At xiv 510, *θῦνε μετ' ἀστεροπῆσιν*, we must again read *μέγ'*.

ix 23. *τοῦ δὲ ἔκλυεν οὐρανόθι Ζεύς.*

*οὐρανόθε?* So Zimmermann rightly suggests *τηλόθε* for *τηλόθι* at x 134. *οὐρανόθε* Pauw for *-όθι* at xi 401, "frustra" says Koechly, but I agree with Pauw—for once.

ix 92. *γαίης, ή με δαμέντα κατὰ κλόνον ἀμφικαλύψει  
μᾶλλον ή ἀθρήσαιμι....*

*ἀμφικαλύψοι* Rhod. and one MS. corrected, followed (pro pudor!) by Koechly and Zimmermann. Quintus knew better than to use a future optative like that anyhow. Read *ἀμφικαλύψαι*.

The old reading of Nonnus' paraphrase of the fourth Gospel xi 235 was *ὅστις ἰδοιτο κατὰ πτόλιν ή καὶ ἀκούσοι, not even ἀκούσοιτο!*

ix 99. *πέλει δέ τις ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν  
ὅς νῦν λαὸν ἀγειρεν.*

*ἔγειρεν* Pauw and recent editors. But *ἀγειρεν* is right; see *Od. B* 41. At i 212 *ἀγειρε* seems rightly changed to *ἔγειρε*.

ix 165. *τὰ (δούρατα) δὲ ἄλλοθεν ἄλλα πεσόντα  
πρῶνας ὑπερθε κάλυψαν, ἀνὴρ δὲ ἐπιτέρπεται ἔργῳ.*

There is only one wood-cutter engaged; no wonder he is pleased with his work if he cover whole *πρῶνας* with the spoil of his axe. Besides he is cutting in the valleys (162). What then would the trees cover when they fell? Why, the under-wood and bushes, *ρῶπας*. Cp. *ἄγκεα ρωπήντα*, vii 715, and *καππεσεν εὗτ' ἐν ὄρεσσι περὶ στερέην δρύνα θάμνος*, iii 280. In ix 451—456 Philoctetes leaning on two heroes is likened to a tree left half cut through which is then blown down and *ποτικλίνῃ ἔρνεσιν εὐθαλέεσσι, φέρουσι δέ μιν βαρέουσαν*. So that the idea of a tree falling on vegetation below seems familiar to Quintus.

At ix 201 the olives from a tree *ἔκάλυψε χῶρον ὑπερθεν*. This would suggest *χῶρον* for *πρῶνας* but it is a good bit further from the MSS., though certainly better in itself.

ix 192.

τὸν μὲν ἐλάσσας  
δουρὶ κατὰ στομάχοιο ποτὶ στόμα.

*κατὰ* P and another, *μετὰ* cet., *μέγα* Rhod. The stomach is said to be cause of many woes in life; it certainly seems to be so in Quintus. Here, since the reading of P was made known, I cannot but think that *κατὰ* must be kept and that *ποτὶ στόμα* represents some corruption. Surely *στόμα στομάχοιο* will never do. And *μέγα* is very bad whether it be an adverb or agree with *στόμα*. But what followed *στομάχοιο* I cannot guess at all.

ix 227. ὡ ἄνα, Δηιφόβοιο πέλει στρατός.

Neoptolemus is hastening to relieve the Greeks at a point where they are getting the worst of it. When they get near, Automedon his charioteer sees who it is that is harrying them (223) and then addresses Neoptolemus. What he said then was something to this effect: "It is Deiphobus who is doing the mischief." Can anyone believe that he said: "It is the army of Deiphobus"? Read *κράτος*. Cf. i 471.

In the next line read *σεῖο πάροιθε τοκῆα ὑπέτρεμε* (*τοκῆος* MSS., *τοκῆα πάροιθεν* Zimm.); hiatus at the weak caesura of the third foot is quite common.

ix 294.

ἀμφὶ δὲ μακραὶ<sup>1</sup>  
μάρματρον κατιόντος ἵσον στεροπῆσι κέλευθοι.

Apollo descends to help the Trojans. From Olympus he comes down straight *παρὰ Ξάνθοιο ρόον*. What were the *κέλευθοι* which blazed like lightning? Nonsense, and besides one would say *μακρὰ κέλευθα*. Read *στεροπῆσιν ἔθειραι*. Cp. xii 535 (*κόμαι*). No doubt there is little resemblance between *ἔθειραι* and *κέλευθοι*, but it is the end of a line as usual; look at ix 539, *καταπρῆσαι τε πόληα* P and two other MSS., *κέλευθα* the rest.

See also Apollonius ii 676 :

χρύσεοι δὲ παρειάων ἐκάτερθε  
πλοχμοὶ βοτρυόεντες ἐπερρώσοντο κιόντι.

This too is said of Apollo.

ix 343. πέρθοντές ποτε γαῖαν ἀρηφίλων Θρηίκων.

As the quantity of Θρηίκων has been called in question by Pauw, it is worth while to refer to Apoll. Rhod. i 632:

δείματι λευγαλέψ όπότε Θρήικες ἴασι.

ix 347. ἐπεὶ ρ̄ ἀπαναίνεται ἥτορ.

ἐπεὶ μέγα μαίνεται is generally read. πέρι would be nearer the MSS. than μέγα, and the epic is all dotted over with πέρι.

ix 376. οὖνεκά οἱ μέλαν ἔλκος, ἐς ὁστέον ἄχρις ικέσθαι,  
πυθόμενον καθύπερθε λυγραὶ δ' ὑπέρεπτον ἀνίαι.

Zimmermann omits δ', the best remedy proposed. It is to be observed that μέλαν and ικέσθαι, both of which have been altered conjecturally, are both defended by x 273. But does ἀνίαι ὑπέρεπτον ἔλκος, "pangs devoured his wound," give very good sense? They devoured Philoctetes, they and the wound between them. I suggest λυγραὶ ὑπέρεπτεν ἀνίαις (or ἀνίγς, heaven only knows which form Quintus preferred). The loss of s at the end of the line would be enough to start the corruption going. In support of this note further that the MSS. accent ἀγ/ατι.

ix 480. Ἀτρεῖδαι must be a mistake for Ἀργεῖοι, look at 487.

ix 518. ὡς φίλος, οὐ τοι ἐγὼν ἔτι χώομαι, οὐδὲ μὲν ἄλλῳ. A stronger contrast is wanted between οὐδὲ μὲν ἄλλῳ and what precedes. Read οὐ σοι, for τοι can have no emphasis.

ix 519. Ἀργείων, εἰ γέ τις ἔτ' ἡλιτεν εἶνεκ' ἐμεῖο.

ἡλιτεν Rhod., ἡντεεν. γε is preserved by P alone, the rest either having only εἰ τις or filling up with τῷ before εἰ. Sticking to the vestiges remaining in P, we may read εἰ περ. Π is often read as Γ and then the Π of ΠΕΡ would be dropped.

But if we lay stress on the accentuation of Π we shall be rather inclined to read εἰ δή τις, which perhaps gives better sense. "If it really is the case, which I don't know about, that any other of you besides Agamemnon injured me." It would be magnanimous at any rate in the mouth of Philoctetes.

x 68. ὥστ' ἀν δέκαλέντος ξυλόχοιο  
πῦρ βρομέει αἰθόμενον.

So P, ὡστ' ἀνὰ ζαλέντος ξύλοχον | πῦρ τρομέει or βρομέει cet. Hermann, not knowing the reading of P, reads ὡς ὅτ' ἀν' ἀζαλέντος ξύλοχον πῦρ | αἰθόμενον βρομέει. The trajectio of πῦρ from one line to the other is very improbable; I do not think there is an instance of this sort of corruption in Quintus. And with the reading of P before us it is clearly unnecessary. Read ὡς ὅτ' ἐν πίζαλέντος ξύλόχοισι (-οιο and -οισι are liable to confusion) πῦρ βρέμει (Rhodomann) αἰθόμενον.

x 188. ἐπήρατος ?

χ 206. αὐτὰρ ὁ κυδιόων ἐν τεύχεσι

ἐπὶ? One does not say *κυδίαν* ἐν τινι, and if ἐν τεύχεστι be taken apart from *κυδίων* it is ridiculously weak.

246. ἐν αἴματι δ' ἐπλετο δῆρις  
κτεινομένων ἐκάτερθε.

"Haud scio an ἔσσυτο δῆρις scripserit ut alibi." Koechly. He does say ἔσσυτο δῆρις twice or thrice, but that hardly defends ἐν αἷματι ἔσσυτο, which seems an odd expression. But Koechly was surely right in suspecting ἔπλετο. What of εἴλλετο? Quintus often uses phrases like "Ares was bedewed with blood"; could he say "δῆρις was rolled in blood"? ("Every battle of the warrior is with a confused noise and garments rolled in blood.") Cf. *Iliad* II 640.

x 322. *σεῦ οὐαὶ εἴνεκ', ἀλιτρέ, καὶ ἀθανάτους ἔλε πένθος.*

I cannot pass by this beautiful line, spoken by Oenone to Paris, without a word; it shines on the "unadorned bosom" of Quintus like a diamond. Indeed the whole episode of the death of Paris and his fruitless appeal to Oenone is by far the best thing in this disorderly compilation. Next may be ranked the death of Penthesilea in the first book, but perhaps that has an unfair advantage—one has not yet begun, like Clisthenes, to suspect the whole business.

xi 96. φοίνικες θαλέθουσι φέρουσι δ' ἀπέιρονα καρπόν.

Quintus never admits a weak caesura in the fourth foot. At

vii 40 the MSS. rightly divide *οὐκέτ'* into *οὐκ ἔτ'*. *πίονα* seems somewhat improbable. Any suggestions?

xi 101. *καὶ ῥὰ νόῳ καὶ χερσὶ καὶ ὅμμασιν ιθύνεσκεν*  
*ἰὸν ἀπὸ γναμπτοῦ κεράτος ὃς δὲ ἀλεγεινὸν*  
*ἄλτο θοῆς ἀπὸ χειρὸς ἐσ ἀνέρα.*

Is it worse to take *ἀλεγεινὸν* as an adverb, or to make it agree with *ἀνέρα*? And what does an arrow do when it springs from the bow? It shrills or whistles, *ὅς δὲ λιγαίνων*, After all too *ἀλεγεινὸν* is an emendation of the elder Struve, commended by Spitzner. The MSS. have *ἀλεγεινός*. After *ὅς* it was an easy mistake to write *δὲ λιγαίνος*, and the rest was inevitable.

xi 110. *ώς δὲ τις γεράνοισι τανυφθόγγοισι χολωθεὶς*  
*οὐρος ἀνήρ πεδίοι μέγ' ἀσχαλόων ἐπορούσῃ*  
*δινήσας περὶ κρατὶ θοῇ καλὰ νεῦρα βόεια*  
*λᾶα βάλγ κατέναντα.*

Scaliger and Koechly assume a lacuna. Koechly also suggests *ἐπορούσας*. *ἐπορούσειν* Hermann (meaning?). *δινήσας δὲ ἐν* *χειρὶ* Zimmermann, of which one may say with Cassandra *βολαῖς ὑγράσσων σπόγγος ὠλεστεν γραφήν.*

What strikes me as strange is *μέγ' ἀσχαλόων* by itself. Why does this *οὐρος ἀνήρ* trouble himself? Is he bilious, or in love? Has he made a false quantity? No, he must be troubled *about something*. The context shews that the cranes have done no mischief yet, but he is anxious lest they should. He is troubled *for his field*, *μέγ' ἀσχαλόων ἐπ' ἀρούρῃ*. So *ἀσχαλόων ἐπὶ βουστὶν* elsewhere. I do not deny that Quintus often uses *ἀσχαλόων* without any such clause, but the context always shews plainly the meaning.

For *θοῇ καλὰ* one must take Rhodomann's *θοῇ χερὶ* or Tychsen's *θοῶς μάλα*. Does Quintus ever shorten the first syllable of *καλός*?

xi 179. *φεύγοντ' Ἀργείων πουλὺν στρατόν οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' αὐτοῖς*  
*ἔργα θεῶν μεμέληντο.*

*ἔργα χερῶν* (vel *νέων*) Rhod., *μόθων* Lennep, *ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν* Zimm., *ἔργ' ἀγαθῶν* ego.

xi 212. ἀμφότερον πονέων τε πόνον τρομέων τ' ἐπὶ βουσ~~ε~~

A ploughman has his oxen attacked by gadflies; they bolt; the ploughman ἀχνυται for two reasons. He fears for his oxen, τρομέει ἐπὶ βουσί, that is simple. But the other ? πονέει πόνον ? That is just what he does not do, because his oxen have run away and his πόνος has been stopped. Besides, Quintus never uses such figures as πονέων πόνον. Zimmermann's suggestion of μογέων τε πόνω gets rid of the figure, but does not improve the sense. Read ποθέων, for that is what happens; he regrets the waste of time and loss of work.

xi 219. ἀλλ' ἄγε θέσθ' ἀνά θυμόν.

ἀλλ' ἄγεσθ' ἀνὰ Lehrs, θέσθ' ἐν Rhod. Read θέσθ' ἐν, and look at 366, ἔχον δ' ἐν θυμὸν ἐσ ἀλκήν. So at vi 604 ἐν should be restored, being the reading of all MSS., except one bad one, which gives ἐντι.

xi 283. Should we mark a lacuna after this line ?

xi 396. ἀνέρας οὐδες κατέμαρψεν ἐν ἀσπίσιν.

Aeneas throws down a great stone from the wall and crushes the men under a tortoise. I think ἐν is a dittography from κατέμαρψεν and that Quintus said ὑπ'.

xi 417. ἐτίναξε for ἐτίναξε.

xi 472. ἐγκέφαλος πεπάλακτο· συνηλοίηντο δὲ πάντα ὅστεα καὶ θοὰ γυνὰ λυγρῷ πεπαλαγμένα λύθρῳ.

Both πεπάλακτο and πεπαλαγμένα can scarcely be right. The former however is plainly right and so it is the latter which is wrong. Read πεφορυγμένα (319, xii 550).

xii 328. ὅσσους χάνδανεν ἵππος ἐνύσσος ἐντὸς ἐέργειν.

The infinitive is very strange; ἐέργων ?

xii 420. ἀγορεύειν is perfectly right; the tense is imperfect. What Zimmermann's ἀγορεύσειν could mean I have no idea.

xii 443. θάμβεον ὅβριμον ἔργον ὁ δέ σφισιν ἔκρυψε πῆ~~τη~~α. ὁ δῆ ? There is only one other instance of ὁ = τό, ii 20.

xii 533. πέλει δέ οἱ ἀσχετος ἀλκή.

A wounded lioness roams the mountains; her ἀλκή is no good to her, Quintus said ἀσχετον ἀλγος.

xii 582. ή δ' ἄγριον ἦτορ ἔχουσα

ἐντροπαλιζομένη ἀναχάζεται ἀχνυμένη κῆρ·  
ώς ή γ' εὐρέος ὕππου ἀπέσσυτο τειρομένη περ  
Τρωῶν ἀμφὶ φόνῳ.

"As a leopard retires grieved at heart, so did Cassandra depart from the wooden horse, vexed exceedingly concerning the imminent destruction of Troy." I can see nothing to boggle at in this, but the editors have made it a mark for slings and arrows of an outrageous kind. Brodaeus and Zimmermann have made three false quantities over it between them, and the only objection seems to be that ἀχνυμένη "displacet de panthera dictum" (Koechly). Why, it is used of horses (iii 195), a nightingale (xii 490), and a heifer (xiv 260). At iii 202 we have πορδάλιες τεκέων καχολωμέναι ἡὲ λέαιναι; at iii 145 positively ἡνορέη is used of a lion. Surely then a πόρδαλις may be described as ἀχνυμένη.

Then for τειρομένη ἀμφὶ φόνῳ. Look at vii 174, τειρόμενον κῆρ ἀμφὶ πατρός, xiv 187 τειρόμενος κῆρ (περ?) ἀμφ' ἐμέθεν. If any change were wanted these passages suggest φόνου for φόνῳ, but "l'un et l'autre se dit," as Beauzée said with his dying breath, and added "ou se disent." Then τειρόμενος περ ends a line at x 284, 465, xii 372.

If these parallels are not enough to defend the text of our present passage, Heaven help it! I can do no more.

xiii 5. ὥδε δέ τις χείρεσσι λαβὼν ἔμπλειον ἀλεισον  
πῦνεν ἀκηδέστως.

Either there is some corruption in 5 or else we must assume a considerable lacuna after it (as often in Quintus) containing some remarks by the drinker.

xiii 60. τάχα δ' οἱ μὲν ἔναιρον

δυσμενέας (the Greeks who had come out of the horse set to work).

Here is a lacuna and then we go on :

61. *τοὶ δ' ἄρ' ἔρεσσον ἔσω ἀλός* (the other Greeks from Tenedos). He then describes their landing, and after a simile :—

70. *ὡς οὖτις αὐίαχοι Τρώων ποτὶ ἀστυν νέοντο πάντες ἀριστήσσιν ἀρηγέμεναι μεμαῶτες.*  
*οἱ δ' ὡς τ' ἀργαλέη λιμῷ περιπατιφάσσοντες*

Another lacuna

73. *σταθμῷ ἐπιβρίσσωσι κατ' οὔρεα μακρὰ καὶ ὑλην εῦδοντος μογεροῦ σημάντορος, ἀλλα δ' ἐπ' ἄλλοις δάμνανθ' ἔρκεος ἐντὸς ὑπὸ κνέφας ἀμφὶ δὲ πάντη*

Lacuna

76. *αἴματι καὶ νεκύεσσιν, ὄρώρει δ' αἰνὸς δλεθρος καὶ περ ἔτι πλεόνων Δαναῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἐόντων.*

Does not this last line startle you? And consider the fragmentary simile of 72—75. It illustrates evidently the havoc made by the Greeks who were already within the walls. Then *οἱ δὲ* in 72 refers to these latter? Apparently, but who would ever have thought it? And then see how it goes on :—

78. *ἄλλ' ὅτε δὴ μάλα πάντες ἔβαν ποτὶ τείχεα Τροίης, δὴ τότε μαιμώωντες ἀνηλεγέως ἐσέχυντο ἐς Πριάμοι· πόληα μένος πνείοντες Ἀρηος.*

He does not say, as you would expect after 77, “but when they were all *inside*,” but he says, “when they all (i.e. all those with Agamemnon) came to the walls from the shore, then they poured in through the gates.”

All this trouble is obviated by a transposition. Lines 72—77 are the mutilated remnant of a passage describing the behaviour of the Greeks from the horse. They ought to be put in after 60, or rather after the line of which only the first word *δυσμενέας* is preserved. Line 61, *τοὶ δ' ἄρ' ἔρεσσον*, will then fit on to 77, though there may have been something between originally, and certainly 61 is mutilated. And 78 follows 71 quite naturally.

## xiii 183. κλάσθησαν ἄδην ἐνὶ σώματι γυῖα.

πτὶ Koechly. I understand the one no more than the other, and see nothing for it but ὑπό. The meaning is merely that “his limbs were loosened below him,” as Homer says. ὑποκλάω is found several times in Quintus.

## xiii 306. οὐκέτ' ἄρ' αὐτοῦ

ἐλπιωρὴν ἔχε θυμὸς ἵδειν εὔτειχέα πάτρην.

αὐτοῦ Spitzner, αὐτῷ. Aeneas no longer cared to see his native city (*πάτρη*, like *terra* in Italian, means *city* often in late epic), but thought of flight. This meaning cannot fairly be got out of ἐλπιωρὴν which could only signify *wish* or *hope*. Read θαλπιωρήν, *comfort*. The mistake was easy, the previous line beginning ἐλκομένας.

xiii 320. τὸν δ' ἀπαλῆς μάλα χειρὸς (φορέεσκε) ἐπιψαύοντα  
πόδεσσι

γαίης· οὐλομένου δὲ φοβεύμενον ἔργα μόθοιο  
ἔξηγεν πολέμοιο δυστηχέος.

For μάλα Hermann proposes ἔτι, Koechly ἄμα. Neither removes the most serious difficulty, which is that ἀπαλῆς χειρὸς is no better governed than *Samoa*. I conceive that Quintus wrote λάβε, which was of course written βάλε as usual, and from βάλε to μάλα is easy. Then the δὲ before φοβεύμενον is justified and indeed necessary, but before it looked wrong to Hermann at any rate, who proposed οὐλομένοιο, and to Koechly, who proposed τε.

xiii 363. Read παρὰ λεχέεσσι. See Koechly's note, and above on i 670.

xiii 378. κεῖνοι γὰρ ἀτάσθαλα πρῶτοι ἔρεξαν  
ἀμφ' Ἐλένης, πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ ὄρκια πημήναντο,  
σχέτλιοι, ὅππότε κεῖνο διὲκ μέλαν αἷμα καὶ ἵρα  
ἀθανάτων ἐλάθοντο.

ἀλίτοντο Rhod. πατέοντο Koechly (he meant “trampled”! but gave it up happily). Neither of these suggestions touches διὲκ, which is palpably impossible. But “they forgot that blood” is surely unsatisfactory; we want some other verb, as

Rhodomann saw. The nearest I can get is *κεῖν' οἴδ' ἔκβαλον αἷμα καὶ ἵπα ἀθανάτων τ' ἐλάθοντο.* *κεινοιδεκ* are the same letters as *κεινοδιεκ*, *μέλαν* for *βάλον* is the usual interchange of *β* and *μ*. But if it was *κεῖν' οἴδ' ἔκβαλον* that engendered the MSS. reading, that must itself have been a corruption of *κεῖν' οἴ γ' ἔκβαλον*.

*ἔκβαλον* often enough means *rejected* or *spurned*. The reference is to the breaking of the Treaty in *Iliad Δ*, whereby the Trojans "cast away" the blood of the victims sacrificed to ratify it.

xiv 28. *καὶ ἥτα μέγα στενάχιζεν, ὅτ' ἀμφί ἐ δούλιον  
ἡμαρ  
μάρψ' ἀεκαζομένην.*

Such is Zimmermann's beautiful restoration of the corrupt *στοναχίζετ' ἀμφί ἐ...μάρψ' ἀεκαζομένην*. Objection however may be taken to *ὅτ'*. As *ὅτι* cannot be elided, it must be for *ὅτε*, and that is never used in this way by Quintus, I believe. To complete the edifice I would read *στενάχιζ ἐπεὶ ἀμφί ἐ*, which is as near the MSS.

xiv 36. *μύγδα περιτρύζουσι διηνεκὲς ἀλλήλοισιν.*

Pigs are the noble animals in question. A pig cooing, roaring like any sucking dove! Read *περιτρίζουσι*. There is practically no difference between *τρίζω* and *τρύζω* from a copyist's point of view. Cf. 265 where the same correction is made by Koechly; there it is an olive-press, but he seems to think the squeaking of pigs harmonious enough to justify the gentler *τρύζω*.

xiv 214, 241. Both these lines end *Πολυξείνην ἐνπεπλον*, both are corrupted to *εύπεπλον* by Spitzner, followed I am sorry to say by Lehrs and Koechly. Zimmermann, having just made a beautiful correction in the line before, where he is thinking for himself, goes of course after Koechly, for whom he has really too much veneration. There are only seven lines in the whole fourteen books which end with three con-

secutive spondees, i 135, v 45, 472, vi 535, ix 70, xii 304, xiii 402<sup>1</sup>.

I will not dispute the doctrine that Quintus scans εν̄ as a monosyllable, if there is no reason against it. Here the reason is plain.

I may add, if anybody cared, that Quintus only once has four consecutive spondees in any part of a line, vi 365. He seldom allows three anywhere.

xiv 432. τοῦνεκ' ἄρ' οὐτε δίκην τις ἔθ' ἀξεται, οὐδέ τις  
αιδὼς  
ἔστι παρ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἔγωγε μὲν οὗτ' ἐν  
'Ολύμπῳ  
ἔσποματ.....

Read ἔγώ γε μέν.

xiv 444. οὐ τι ἔγωγ' ἀνθίσταμαι οὖνεκ' Ἀχαιῶν.  
Zeus answers Athena. We want a dative after ἀνθίσταμαι and I strongly suspect that for τι we should read τοι.

xiv 471. ή δ' ἀλούσα  
ἔσσυμένως οἵμησε περιγναμφθεῖσα νέφεσσον·  
φαῖης κεν πῦρ ἔμμεν ἄμ' ἡέρι καὶ μέλαν ὕδωρ.  
ἴκετο δ' Αἰολίην...

Iris is sent by Athena to Aeolus. What is the meaning of 473? Would you say that a rainbow was "fire and black water with mist"?

Read ἡέρα and put the line in after 538, where it will fit well enough: περὶ στεροπῆσι δ' ἀνάσσης

αἴγλη μαρμαίρεσκε διὰ κνέφας ἀίσσονσα.

<φαῖης κεν πῦρ ἔμμεν ἄμ' ἡέρα καὶ μέλαν ὕδωρ>.

"You would have said that air and water alike were fire."

After writing this I learn from Koechly (for Zimmermann says nothing about it) that after 538 a great transposition of 40 verses was made by Rhodomann, about the correctness of

<sup>1</sup> Of course I do not count the absurd xii 314, a verse worthy of a modern parodist, not of Quintus who

at any rate knew his metre. And in i 151 the first syllable of χρυσέψι is no doubt short.

which there can be no doubt whatever. This confirms me in my opinion. The other 40 are now read as 579—618. In connexion with their irruption what originally was 539 (*φαίης κεν κτλ.*) got displaced and was stuck in again wrongly as 473.

xiv 532. *ἡ δ' αἰνόν τε χόλον καὶ πῆμα φέρουσα.*

For *αἰνόν τε* Pauw's *Αἰνόντι* is the received reading. But I can hardly believe that *χόλον* is right either. *χόλον καὶ πῆμα!* what a jumble! Perhaps *φόνον*, *φ* and *χ* being often confused, and hence the *αἰνόν* of the MSS. Cf. i 208, 311, etc., etc.

xiv 620. *τοῦ δὲ Ποσειδάων μάλ' ἐπέκλυεν ἀμφὶ δὲ πόντος*

\* \* \* \*

*ἀψ μέλαν οἴδμα φέρεσκεν ὁ δ' ἐστηκὼς χερὶ πεύκην αἰθομένην ἀνάειρε.*

*μάλ'* *ἐπέκλυεν* Zimm. *μενέκλονος* (!). *ἀμφὶ* scripsi, *ἄλλα* Lacunam indicavi. *ἐστηκὼς* scripsi, *ὄνκες* ὡς P, *ἀναμένην* vel *ἀνομένην* cet. The last astonishing variant is I fancy a corruption of *ἀνημένην* though I hardly know how it got there; it scarcely seems a natural gloss to me on *αἰθομένην*. Pity the sorrows of the older editors who knew not P!

In 620 *μάλ'*, if that be right, accounts for *ἄλλα* partly. Zimmermann reads *ἄγχι δὲ πάντας ἀμ μέλαν οἴδμα φέρεσκεν*. (Posidon, hearing the prayer of Nauplius, brought the Greeks near to shore on the black wave.) This is very ingenious, but I can hardly think it right. There are so many lacunæ in Quintus that one need not scruple to add to their number; he said something like: "the sea raged horribly all round (*ἀμφὶ* is an everlasting stop-gap of his) and they were dashed against the rocks; some were broken to pieces, others clung to them for a moment, and then *ἀψ μέλαν οἴδμα φέρεσκεν*—resorbuit." Cf. *Od. ε 430*.

Then for *ὄνκες* ὡς. Observe the position of the breathing which indicates that *οὐ* is wrong. This granted, *ἐστηκὼς* keeps all the other letters, and just suits the sense. Nauplius stood holding aloft his torch—a Greek naturally says "held standing."

xiv 642. *καὶ τόσῃ δὲ θάλασσα καὶ εἰσέτι κελάδοντες χείμαρροι ἀλεγεινὸν ἀεξόμενοι Διὸς ὅμβρῳ.*

*καὶ τόσῃ* seems past praying for; Zimmermann's ἐκλύσθη is probably the best thing yet proposed. For *εἰσέτι* read *εἰσέπεσον* *εἰσέτι* is *εἰσεπ* and the *εσον* fell out.

xiv 652. *ψάμαθος δ' ἔτι φαίνετο μούνη χασταμένου πόντοιο κατ' ἀκτάων ἐριδούπων νόσφι δ' ἐπ' αἰγιαλοῖσι κατεκτάθη.*

So I conceive these verses should run. *κατ' ἀκτάων* Hermann, *καὶ ἐκ δαναῶν* vel *καὶ ἐκ θινῶν*. *νόσφι δ' scripsi, νόσφιν.* *αἰγιαλοῖσι* Zimmermann, *αἰγιαλοῖο.* *κατεκτάθη* Tychsen, *κατέκτοθι, κατ' ἔκτοθι.*

ARTHUR PLATT.

NOTES ON CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA. II.

§ 1. *stromata* i xix §§ 92, 93 = 372, 373 Potter.

The philosophy of the Greeks, thinks Clement, contains an element of truth. 'But,' he remarks, nine lines from the beginning of § 92, 'there are different sorts of philosophy, and I am thinking, not of all, but of one, of the philosophy which Plato recommends (1) in *Phaedo* 69 CD, (2) in *anterastae* 137 B, and (3) in *republic* 475 DE.' The three quotations are dealt with separately, and accordingly the passage before us divides into three parts, which begin respectively (1) *οὐ μὴν ἀπλῶς πᾶσαν φιλοσοφίαν ἀποδεχόμεθα*, (2) *καν τῷ Δημοδόκῳ*, and (3) *ἐν τε τῷ πέμπτῳ τῆς πολιτείας*. Of each of the three parts there is something to be said.

(1) The words actually quoted from *Phaedo* 69 CD present little difficulty. It is true that, where the texts of Plato give *ῶς φασιν οἱ περὶ τὰς τελετάς*, the text of Clement omits the article. The omission may be an error of the scribe's, but it may just as well be a misquotation on the part of Clement. Whether *ἡνύσαμεν* should be retained or emended<sup>1</sup>, is a question for editors of the *Phaedo* rather than for commentators on Clement: though it may be thought that the testimony of the MSS of the latter is a point, if only a little one, in favour of the received text of the former. But in the sentence which follows the quotation,—*ἀρ' οὐ δοκεῖ σοι πίστεως ἐκ τῶν Ἐβραικῶν γραφῶν τὴν μετὰ θάνατον ἐλπίδα τοῦ δικαίου σαφηνίζειν*;—what are we to make of *πίστεως*? Potter's version of the sentence—"an non tibi videtur ex scripturis

<sup>1</sup> See Cobet, *Ἄργιος Ἐρμῆς* p. 530, and R. D. Archer Hind's note in his edition of the *Phaedo*.

Hebraicis eam, quae est post mortem, iusti ex fide spem declarare?"—is plainly impossible. None of the suggestions which I know, neither *πιστικῶς* nor *πιθανῶς* proposed by J. B. Mayor, neither *πιστεύων* nor *πιστεύσας* proposed by Bywater, at all satisfies me. Cobet, who in *Λόγιος Ἐρμῆς* p. 530 comments both on the antecedent context in Clement and on the subsequent, has nothing to say about this troublesome phrase. For myself, I fancy that what is wanted is, not correction, but interpretation: and to this I now address myself.

In this sentence Clement leaves for the moment the establishment of the distinction between good philosophy and bad, and parenthetically remarks that 'the just man's hope' bears an evident mark of its Hebrew origin. Now, 'the just man's hope' is affirmed, not so much in the extract transcribed from *Phaedo* 69 CD, as in its immediate sequel: and in this sequel, after about eighteen lines of text, we come to the sentence ἀλλὰ τοῦτο δὴ ἵστις οὐκ ὀλίγης παραμυθίας δεῖται καὶ πίστεως, ὡς ἔστι τε ἡ ψυχὴ ἀποθανόντος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τινα δύναμιν ἔχει καὶ φρόνησιν, where the word *πίστεως* might well attract the attention of one who, like Clement, was on the look out for evidence of the Hebrew origin of Greek philosophy. I conceive then that *πίστεως*, that is to say, *τὸ πίστεως, πίστεως* in inverted commas, is the subject of the sentence, which means: 'Don't you think that the word *πίστεως*, which occurs in the sequel to this extract, shows the just man's hope after death to be derived from the Hebrew scriptures?' That Clement sometimes supposes his reader to be familiar with the context of his quotations, and does not always quote all that his argument requires, appears from I xv § 66=355 Potter δύνασθαι γοῦν ἐν τῷ Φαίδωνι πανταχόθεν τὸν φιλόσοφον ὀφελεῖσθαι γράφων, πολλὴ μὲν ἡ Ἑλλάς, ἔφη, ὁ Κέβης, ἡ δ' ὅς, ἐν δὲ εἰσὶ πάμπαν ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων γένη. Lest it should be objected that an infinitive or a participle is necessary after *σαφηνίζειν*, I note that the use here exemplified is found with words of saying, thinking, perceiving, showing, &c, in writers of the classical period, and in Clement is common.

As the editors point out, the quotation in (2) is derived, not from the *Demodocus*, but from the *anterastae* 137 B, where our texts give—ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐχ οὔτως, ἃ φίλε, ἔχωσι, μηδὲ οὐ τοῦτο φιλοσοφεῖν, περὶ τὰς τέχνας ἐσπουδακέναι, οὐδὲ πολυπραγμονοῦντα κυπτάζοντα ξῆν οὐδὲ πολυμαθοῦντα, ἀλλ’ ἄλλο τι, ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ φίμην καὶ ὀνειδος εἶναι τοῦτο καὶ βαναύσους καλεῖσθαι τὸν περὶ τὰς τέχνας ἐσπουδακότας. Apart from difficulties peculiar to Clement's transcript, this passage, as it stands in Plato's works, presents difficulties of which something must now be said.

The general drift of the sentence is unmistakeable. 'It is possible,' says Socrates, 'that philosophers are not, as our argument makes them out, vicious and useless, and that philosophy is not polymathy and the cultivation of the arts, but something else.' Now, from the syntactical point of view the words *μηδὲ οὐ τοῦτο φιλοσοφεῖν περὶ τὰς τέχνας ἐσπουδακέναι* are not a cautious denial, but a cautious affirmation: and this cautious affirmation of the proposition that philosophy is the cultivation of the arts makes nonsense both of the supplementary phrase *οὐδὲ πολυπραγμονοῦντα*, and of the clause which follows *ἄλλ’ ἄλλο τι*. That is to say, inconsistently with the doubt expressed at the outset, with the final denunciation of *τοῦτο περὶ τὰς τέχνας ἐσπουδακότας*, and with the condemnation of polymathy interposed between them, as well as with the whole argument of the dialogue, Socrates, in the clause *μηδὲ οὐ τοῦτο φιλοσοφεῖν περὶ τὰς τέχνας ἐσπουδακέναι*, suggests that philosophy consists in the cultivation of the arts. In a word, somewhere within the limits of this clause there should be an *οὐ*: for, though in verse, if a clause introduced by *οὐτε* follows, a negative is sometimes omitted, I hardly think that the negative can be similarly dropped, where the following clause is introduced by *οὐδέ*, in prose. Where then should the missing *οὐ* be inserted? Now, as no rival definition is offered *ἄλλο τι* being completely vague, *τοῦτο* is of necessity the definition rejected: in fact, it anticipates *περὶ τὰς τέχνας ἐσπουδακέναι κτλ.* This being so, *οὐ* must not be placed immediately before *περὶ τὰς τέχνας*: it must precede *τοῦτο*. It remains for us then, either, inserting *οὐκ* after *μηδὲ*, to

read *μηδ' οὐκ* ἢ *τοῦτο φιλοσοφεῖν*, or, substituting *οὐδ'* for *μηδ'*, to read ἀλλὰ *μὴ οὐχ οὗτως, ὡς φίλε, ἔχωσιν, οὐδ' ἢ τοῦτο φιλοσοφεῖν*. Of these alternatives the latter—for which compare *Cratylus* 440 C *μὴ οὐ φάδιον ἢ ἐπισκέψασθαι, οὐδὲ πάνυ νοῦν ἔχοντος ἀνθρώπου...δισχυρίζεσθαι*—is, I think, to be preferred.

Furthermore, the words *περὶ τὰς τέχνας ἐσπουδακέναι οὐδὲ πολυπραγμονοῦντα κυπτάζοντα ζῆν οὐδὲ πολυμαθοῦντα* do not bear examination. In particular, the juxtaposition of the two participles is unsatisfactory; for neither *πολυπραγμονεῖ τις κυπτάζων* nor *κυπτάζει τις πολυπραγμονῶν* is an intelligible phrase: and, although *περὶ τὰς τέχνας κυπτάζοντα* gives a good sense, it may be doubted whether *κυπτάζοντα* apart from *περὶ τὰς τέχνας* means anything at all. It seems to me then that *ἐσπουδακέναι οὐδὲ πολυπραγμονοῦντα* is a duplicate of *κυπτάζοντα ζῆν οὐδὲ πολυμαθοῦντα*; and that of the two phrases the latter is to be preferred, since the infinitive *ζῆν* can stand both with *περὶ τὰς τέχνας κυπτάζοντα* and with *πολυμαθοῦντα*, whilst *πολυπραγμονοῦντα* receives no support from *ἐσπουδακέναι* and is wholly ungrammatical<sup>1</sup>.

In the *anterastae* then I would read ἀλλὰ *μὴ οὐχ οὗτως, ὡς φίλε, ἔχωσιν, οὐδ' ἢ τοῦτο φιλοσοφεῖν, περὶ τὰς τέχνας κυπτάζοντα ζῆν οὐδὲ πολυμαθοῦντα, ἀλλ' ἄλλο τι*.

And now I may return to the quotation in Clement,—κάν τῷ Δημοδόκῳ, εἰ δὴ τὸν Πλάτωνος τὸ σύγγραμμα· μηδὲ ἡγοῦ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν λέγειν περὶ τὰς τέχνας κυπτάζοντας ζῆν οὐδὲ πολυμαθοῦντα, ἀλλὰ ἄλλο τι, ἐπεὶ ἔγωγε φύην καὶ ὄνειδος εἶναι. ἥδει γάρ, οἴμαι, ὡς ἄρα ἥδη πολυμαθίη νόον ἔχειν οὐ διδάσκει καθ' Ἡράκλειτον—which, while it omits the words *ἐσπουδακέναι οὐδὲ πολυπραγμονοῦντα* and in so far countenances the results already obtained, at the same time introduces errors and difficulties of its own. First, since *οὐδέ* follows, *μηδὲ ἡγοῦ* is certainly faulty: and, as Cobet (l. c.) points out, *μηδὲ ἡγοῦ τὸ* is palaeographically identical with *μηδὲ ἢ τοῦτο*, the reading of the *anterastae*. That reading is however, as I

<sup>1</sup> In this suggestion I am anticipated by Cobet, *Δόγιος Έρμῆς* p. 531: παρεμ- οὐδὲ πολυπραγμονοῦντα], καὶ τῷ Κλήμεντι πολλὴν χάριν θιμεν τῷ τοῦτο μηνύσαντι, μιθηται γάρ κακῶς τὸ [ἐσπουδακέναι

have shown, itself unsatisfactory: and the remedy which in the *anterastae* appeared to be sufficient, will not avail in Clement's quotation: for, when Clement omits  $\mu\eta\; o\nu\chi\; o\nu\tau\omega\mathfrak{s}$ ,  $\mathfrak{\delta}\; \phi\mathfrak{ile}, \mathfrak{\epsilon}\mathfrak{\chi}\omega\sigma\mathfrak{in}$ , it becomes necessary for him, if his quotation is to be grammatical and intelligible, to alter  $o\nu\delta\; \mathfrak{\eta}\; \tau\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{o}$  into  $\mu\eta\; o\nu\mathfrak{\eta}\; \tau\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{o}$ . This correction seems to me inevitable. Secondly, for  $\lambda\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{y}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{v}$ , which cannot possibly find a place within the quotation, I would write  $\lambda\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{y}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{u}$ , and take it in close conjunction with Clement's words  $\kappa\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{n}\; \tau\mathfrak{\phi}\; \Delta\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{k}\mathfrak{w}$ ,  $\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{i}\; \delta\mathfrak{\eta}\; \tau\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{u}\; \Pi\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{s}\; \tau\mathfrak{\phi}\; \sigma\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{y}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{a}$ . Thirdly, as Dindorf has seen,  $\kappa\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{a}$  should be substituted for  $\kappa\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{s}$ . Fourthly, in  $\mathfrak{\eta}\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{i}\; \gamma\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{p}, \mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{a},$   $\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{s}\; \mathfrak{\delta}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{a}\; \mathfrak{\eta}\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{h}\; \pi\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{n}\; \mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{n}\; \mathfrak{\epsilon}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{v}\; o\mathfrak{v}\; \mathfrak{\delta}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{k}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{e}$ , I cannot find a satisfactory sense for  $\mathfrak{\eta}\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{h}$ , and I am inclined to think that  $\mathfrak{\eta}\; \mathfrak{\delta}\mathfrak{h}$  should be substituted for it. Similarly in I ii § 19 = Potter 327  $\kappa\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{i}\; \mathfrak{\delta}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{s}\; \mathfrak{\eta}\; \pi\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{a}\; \delta\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{k}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{j}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{y}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{i}$ , the superfluous  $\delta\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{a}$  prefixed to  $\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{k}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{j}\mathfrak{e}$  seems to me to represent a  $\mathfrak{\delta}\mathfrak{h}$  appended to  $\pi\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{a}$ .

In (3) Clement supplements his quotation from *republic* vi 475 DE by less exact references to *republic* vii, where the *προπαιδεία* is carefully distinguished from the knowledge of the *άγαθόν*. Hence, when for *έτέρων μὲν ὄντων τάγαθού ὄδῶν*, *ώσπερ δὲ ἐπὶ τάγαθόν* Potter proposes *έτέρων μὲν ὄντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔτέρων δὲ ὄδῶν ώσπερ ἐπὶ τάγαθόν*, thus obscuring, if not obliterating, the reference, he is certainly wrong. I doubt whether it is necessary to do anything more than to place the comma before *όδῶν* instead of after it. Clement seems to me to say 'the good, and what may be regarded as ways to it, being different things.' For the order of the words *όδῶν ώσπερ δέ*, compare VII xv § 91 = 888 Potter, where *μέν* is the third word in a phrase, as *δέ* is here. The trajectio of *μέν*, which, if I am right, would properly follow *τάγαθοῦ*, does not dismay me.

§ 2. *stromata* II xxii § 133 = 500 Potter<sup>1</sup>.

Ξενοκράτης τε ὁ Χαλκηδόνιος τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀποδίδωσι κτῆσιν τῆς οἰκείας ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς ὑπηρετικῆς αὐτῆς δυνάμεως. είτα ὡς μὲν ἐν φύσει φαίνεται λέγων τὴν ψυχὴν, ὡς δ' ὑφ' ὧν τὰς ἀρετὰς, ὡς δ' ἐξ ὧν ὡς μερῶν τὰς καλὰς πράξεις καὶ τὰς σπουδαίας ἔξεις τε καὶ διαθέσεις καὶ κινήσεις καὶ σχέσεις, ὡς τούτων οὐκ ἀνευ τὰ σωματικὰ καὶ τὰ ἔκτός. ὁ γὰρ Ξενοκράτους γνώριμος Πολέμων φαίνεται τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν αὐτάρκειαν εἶναι βούλόμενος ἀγαθῶν πάντων ἢ τῶν πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων. δογματίζει γοῦν χωρὶς μὲν ἀρετῆς μηδέποτε ἀν εὐδαιμονίαν ὑπάρχειν, δίχα δὲ καὶ τῶν σωματικῶν καὶ τῶν ἔκτος τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτάρκη πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν εἶναι.

This passage has a certain interest for historians of philosophy, inasmuch as they are dependent upon it for their account of the teaching of Xenocrates and Polemo about external goods and their relation to the ἀγαθόν. Unluckily the words which describe Xenocrates' position, ὡς τούτων οὐκ ἀνευ τὰ σωματικὰ καὶ τὰ ἔκτός, are, as they stand, no better than nonsense. For they can mean only 'since these are indispensable conditions of bodily and external goods,' whereas it is inconceivable that Xenocrates should have regarded 'noble actions, and righteous habits, dispositions, motions, and states' as means by which bodily and external goods might be obtained. Brandis indeed rests content with the existing text, and paraphrases accordingly<sup>2</sup>; but I can hardly think that any one will agree with him.

Recognizing the need of emendation, Zeller, in place of ὡς τούτων οὐκ ἀνευ, reads ὡς δ' ὧν οὐκ ἀνευ; and this conjecture is accepted without question by R. Heinze in his *Xenocrates*

<sup>1</sup> The substance of this note was communicated to the Cambridge Philological Society, 30 November 1893. See *Proceedings*, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> "Er rechnete daher zu ihren Bestandtheilen, ausser den sittlichen Handlungen, Beschaffenheiten und Fertigkeiten, auch die Bewegungen und

Verhältnisse, ohne welche die leiblichen und äusseren Güter nicht erlangt werden können." *Gesch. d. Gr.-Röm. Ph.* II ii 1, p. 34. It will be observed that Brandis connects the debatable clause with *κινήσεις καὶ σχέσεις* only; and that there is nothing in the text to justify this limitation.

pp. 148, 189; by Wellmann in the eighth edition of Ritter and Preller's compendium, § 363; and presumably by M. Heinze in the eighth edition of Ueberweg's *Grundriss*, § 44, p. 192. Thus Clement is made to say, on the one hand, that, according to Xenocrates, bodily and external goods are indispensable to happiness—*ώς δ' ὅν οὐκ ἀνευ τὰ σωματικὰ καὶ τὰ ἔκτος*; and on the other hand, that according to Polemo, virtue, independently of goods bodily and external, is all-sufficient—*δίχα δὲ καὶ τῶν σωματικῶν καὶ τῶν ἔκτος τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτάρκη πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν εἶναι*.

Tradition however represents Xenocrates and Polemo as agreed in their theory of happiness and of the relations in which goods and evils stand to it<sup>1</sup>. How can this be, if, according to Xenocrates, bodily and external goods are indispensable to happiness, while, according to Polemo, they are not so? The difficulty has not escaped the attention of Zeller, who seeks to dispose of it by distinguishing between 'happiness' and 'perfection of happiness'; and apparently his reconciliation is accepted by the other critics whom I have named.

Zeller supposes that by *εὐδαιμονία* is meant, in the paragraph about Xenocrates, the perfection of happiness as opposed to happiness<sup>2</sup>, and in the paragraph about Polemo happiness as

<sup>1</sup> Cicero, *Tusc. disp.* v. 13, 39: 31, 87 = R. Heinze, §§ 84, 85.

<sup>2</sup> "Und soll auch nur die Tugend das sein was sie [die Glückseligkeit] erzeugt, nur die edeln Thätigkeiten und Eigenschaften das, worin sie ihrem eigentlichen Wesen nach besteht, so soll sie doch auch der leiblichen und äusseren Güter nicht entbehren können, welche somit,...zwar nicht als Ursachen, aber doch als Mitursachen der Glückseligkeit zu betrachten sind. Ebendesshalb kann aber, wenn nach der eigentlichen und positiven Bedingung der Glückseligkeit gefragt wird, auch die Tugend allein als solche genannt, das glückselige Leben dem tugendhaften gleichgesetzt, der Weise muss unter

allen Umständen für glückselig erklärt werden. Dass er aber trotzdem, wenn die Güter zweiten Bangs fehlen, nicht schlechthin glückselig sein sollte, diess musste vom stoischen Standpunkt aus allerdings unbegreiflich gefunden werden, der akademischen Mässigung und dem xenokratischen Begriff der Glückseligkeit entsprach es durchaus; denn wenn der Besitz derselben an das Zusammentreffen mehrerer Bedingungen geknüpft ist, so wird er mehr oder weniger vollkommen sein, je nachdem diese Bedingungen vollständiger oder unvollständiger vorhanden sind, die Glückseligkeit wird mithin einer Steigerung und Verminderung fähig sein, es wird erlaubt sein, zwischen dem glückseli-

opposed to its perfection<sup>1</sup>. Thus, according to Xenocrates, bodily and external goods are necessary, not indeed to happiness, but to its perfection: according to Polemo, virtue, apart from bodily and external goods, is of itself sufficient, not indeed for the perfection of happiness, but for happiness short of perfection. Plainly these doctrines thus attributed to Xenocrates and Polemo respectively are quite consistent, and may well have been entertained by both.

Now if the two statements had occurred separately, *εὐδαιμονία* might conceivably have stood in the one for 'happiness' and in the other for 'perfection of happiness.' But here, where the two statements, the statement about Xenocrates and the statement about Polemo, occur in conjunction,—indeed in very close conjunction, the two paragraphs being linked together, not only by a connecting *γάρ*, but also by an emphatic reference to the personal relations of the two philosophers,—the word *εὐδαιμονία*, in the absence of qualification, should surely bear throughout one and the same meaning. We cannot suppose that within the space of a dozen lines Clement uses the word *εὐδαιμονία* in the two contrasted senses: and consequently the distinction between 'happiness' and 'perfection of happiness' is not available for the resolution of the difficulty which Zeller's conjecture creates.

Reverting to the text, *ώς τούτων οὐκ ἀνευ τὰ σωματικὰ καὶ τὰ ἔκτός*, let us substitute X for the second T in *τούτων*. Then, dividing afresh, we have *ώστ' οὐχ ὅν οὐκ ἀνευ τὰ σωματικὰ καὶ τὰ ἔκτός*: 'so that bodily and external goods are *not* indispensable conditions of happiness.' The alteration is palaeo-

gen und dem allerglückseligsten Leben zu unterscheiden." Zeller, *Ph. d. Gr.* II i 1029, 1030.

<sup>1</sup> "Sein Wahlspruch ist das naturgemäße Leben. Dieses beruht aber ihm zufolge auf zwei Bedingungen, von denen die eine in der Tugend besteht, die andere im Besitz derjenigen Güter, welche uns die Natur ursprünglich begehrten heißtet, wie Gesundheit und Ähnliches. So unerlässlich aber auch das zweite von diesen Stücken zum

vollen Glück ist, so steht es doch seinem Werth nach tief unter dem ersten: ohne Tugend, sagte Polemo, sei überhaupt keine Glückseligkeit möglich, ohne die leiblichen und äusseren Güter nur nicht die vollen-dete Glückseligkeit; wie man sieht, ganz dasselbe, was auch schon Platon, Speusippus und Xenokrates gelehrt hatten." Zeller, *Ph. d. Gr.* II i 1045, 1046.

graphically legitimate, the interchange of T and X being recognized by Bast, *commentatio* p. 738: and the meaning obtained is, I think, altogether satisfactory. Inasmuch as according to Xenocrates the parts of happiness are 'noble actions, and righteous habits, dispositions, motions, and states,' and not, as Aristotle would say, *ἐνέργειαι*, Clement *infers* that Xenocrates did not account bodily and external goods indispensable to happiness. The inference is a reasonable one: for, though *ἐνέργειαι* are dependent upon the present possession of bodily and external goods, *ἔξεις* are not so. But it is only an inference: so Clement strengthens his position by an appeal to the teaching of Xenocrates' friend Polemo, who plainly affirmed that virtue, apart from bodily and external goods, is sufficient to make *εὐδαιμονία*.

HENRY JACKSON.

21 July 1899.

FURTHER NOTES ON PASSAGES IN THE SEVENTH  
BOOK OF THE EUDEMIAN ETHICS.

*Eudemian ethics* H ii § 8 = 1236<sup>a</sup> 14 φίλος δὴ γίνεται ὅταν φιλούμενος ἀντιφιλῇ, καὶ τοῦτο μὴ λανθάνῃ πως αὐτούς.

This statement about φίλος is not an inference from what has been said about φιλεῖν, but supplementary to it. Hence for δή, read δέ.

ii § 14 = 1236<sup>a</sup> 33 τούτων ἡ μὲν διὰ τὸ χρήσιμόν ἔστιν ἡ [διὰ] τῶν πλείστων φιλία (διὰ γὰρ τὸ χρήσιμοι εἶναι φιλοῦσιν ἄλληλους, καὶ μέχρι τούτου, ὥσπερ ἡ παροιμία

Γλαῦκ', ἐπίκουρος ἀνὴρ τὸν σοφὸν φίλον ἔσκε μάχηται,  
καὶ

οὐκέτι γιγνώσκουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι Μεγαρῆς),  
ἡ δὲ δι' ἡδονὴν τῶν νέων (τούτου γὰρ αἰσθησιν ἔχουσιν διὸ εὐμετάβολος φιλία ἡ τῶν νέων μεταβαλλόντων γὰρ τὰ ἥθη κατὰ τὰς ἡλικίας μεταβάλλει καὶ τὸ ἡδύ), ἡ δὲ κατ' ἀρετὴν τῶν Βελτίστων.

So Susemihl<sup>1</sup>. The preposition διὰ which in the MSS precedes τῶν πλείστων is not represented in the Latin version, and is rejected by Sylburg, Bekker, Bussemaker, Fritzsche, and Susemihl. It must be admitted that it is better away. But again the article ἡ, which precedes διὰ, is a superfluity or worse than a superfluity. And if ἡ is expunged, the ν of ἔστιν should go also. Now the letters in question, ΝΗΔΙΑ, duly divided, give the phrase νὴ Δία: and I venture to suggest that, so written, they should be retained in the text. It seems to me

<sup>1</sup> As in my former paper, vol. xxvi pp. 149—160, so in this, I take as my basis Susemihl's text and critical

notes. The better I know this admirable piece of work, the more grateful I am to its author.

that *νὴ Δία*, thus interposed, emphasizes the contrast between the friendship of utility, which is the friendship of the generality of men, the friendship of pleasure, which is the friendship of the young, and the friendship of virtue, which is peculiar to the select few. That the familiar phrase might occur in writings of this sort, appears from its occurrence in *politics* Γ vi § 1 = 1281<sup>a</sup> 16, § 5 = 1281<sup>b</sup> 18 (cited in the Berlin Index).

On the corrupt hexameter *Γλαῦκ', ἐπίκουρος ἀνὴρ τὸν σοφὸν φίλον ἔσκε μάχηται*, Susemihl comments as follows: “36. ἐπίκουρος ἀνὴρ] Ἐπικυδεῖδη ci. Bu. || τὸν σοφὸν φίλον corrupta, τὸν σὸν φίλον Sylburgius Bk. Bu. in textu, τόσατον φίλος ci. Sylburgius, τόσσον φίλος Fr. γρ. τὸ σοφὸν φίλον Victorius, idemque et μασῆται vel potius μασᾶται ci. Bu. ||” I cannot get a satisfactory meaning from any of these restorations: nor do I think that *ἔσκε* can stand in the sense of “so long as,” which the editors appear tacitly to give to it. I conjecture that the line should run *Γλαῦκ', ἐπίκουρον ἀνὴρ ὁ σοφὸς φιλεῖ ὡς κε μάχηται*. I suppose that, whereas *φι* with λ' superposed represents, *inter alia*, *φίλον* and *φιλεῖ* (see below on §§ 40, 41), a scribe, finding this compendium, has chosen the wrong word: and that, having by an easy oversight assimilated *ἐπίκουρον* to *ἀνὴρ*, he (or some one else) has consequently altered the case of *ὁ σοφὸς*. With *ὡς κε*, compare *ὡς ἀν* at § 20, 1236<sup>b</sup> 17.

ii §§ 18—22 = 1236<sup>b</sup> 10 *καὶ οἱ φαῦλοι ἀν εἰεν φίλοι ἀλλήλοις καὶ διὰ τὸ χρήσιμον καὶ διὰ τὸ ἥδυ. οἱ δ' ὅτι ἡ πρώτη οὐχ ὑπάρχει αὐτοῖς οὐ φασὶ φίλους εἶναι ἀδικήσει γὰρ ὁ γε φαῦλος τὸν φαῦλον, οἱ δ' ἀδικούμενοι οὐ φιλοῦνται σφᾶς αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ φιλοῦνται μέν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν πρώτην φιλίαν, ἐπεὶ τάς γε ἐτέρας οὐθὲν κωλύει. δι' ἥδονὴν γὰρ ὑπομένουσιν ἀλλήλους βλαπτόμενοι, ὡς ἀν ὀστιν ἀκρατεῖς. οὐ δοκοῦσι δ' οὐδὲ οἱ δι' ἥδονὴν φιλοῦντες ἀλλήλους φίλοι εἶναι, διαν κατ' ἀκρίβειαν ζητῶσιν, ὅτι οὐχ ἡ πρώτη. ἐκείνη μὲν γὰρ βέβαιος, αὕτη δὲ ἀβέβαιος. ἡ δ' ἔστι μέν, ὀσπερ εἴρηται, φιλία, οὐκ ἐκείνη δέ, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἐκείνης. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐκείνως μόνον λέγειν τὸν φίλον, βιάζεσθαι τὰ φαινόμενα ἔστι, καὶ παράδοξα λέγειν ἀναγκαῖον καθ' ἔνα δὲ λόγον πάσας ἀδύνατον.*

So Susemihl. The purport of these sentences is plain: 'bad men also may be friends to one another on account of utility and on account of pleasure. But, because they are incapable of the primary friendship, men say that such persons are not friends: for the bad man will wrong the bad man, and those who wrong one another are not fond of one another. *The truth is however that they are fond of one another, but their fondness is not the primary friendship.* There is however nothing to prevent the other friendships: *for, for the sake of pleasure, bad men overlook their mutual injuries.* Precisians say that these are not friends, because their friendship is not the primary friendship: but it is unpractical thus to limit the use of the word.' There are here two or three details which call for remark. First, the sentence which I have paraphrased 'the truth is however that they are fond of one another, but their fondness is not the primary friendship,' stands in Susemibl's text, *οὐ δὲ φιλοῦσι μέν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν πρώτην φιλίαν*: and this reading is supported by the Latin version and adopted in the Aldine edition. But I can see no reason for deserting the tradition of the MSS, which give, not *οὐ δὲ φιλοῦσι*, but *οὐδὲ φιλοῦσι μέν*, 'it is not however true that they are not fond of one another.' Indeed the added emphasis of the negative negated seems to me a gain. Secondly, in the sentence *δι' ἡδονὴν γὰρ ὑπομένουσιν ἀλλήλους βλαπτόμενοι, ὡς ἀν ωσιν ἀκρατεῖς, ὑπομένουσιν* is Bonitz's correction of the MS reading *ὑπονοοῦσιν*. Bonitz does not give a translation: but if he means 'for by reason of pleasure they put up with injury from one another,' I should have expected not *ἀλλήλους βλαπτόμενοι*, but *ὑπ' ἀλλήλων βλαπτόμενοι* or *ἀλλήλους βλαπτούντας*. For myself, I think that *ὑπονοοῦσιν* represents either *οὐπω νοοῦσιν* or *οὐπω ὑπονοοῦσιν*. Correcting accordingly, and putting the comma before *βλαπτόμενοι* instead of after it, I would translate: 'for by reason of pleasure they do not at present appreciate [or suspect] one another, being hindered therein in proportion as they are incontinent.' It will be seen that *οὐπω* leads the way to the subsequent recognition of the temporary character of bad men's friendship. Thirdly, I suspect that, between *λέγειν* and

*βιάζεσθαι, τὴν φιλίαν* should be substituted for *τὸν φίλον*: see below on §§ 40, 41. Both in the antecedent and in the subsequent context it is the friendship, and not the friend, which is in question.

ii § 26 = 1236<sup>b</sup> 36 *τά τε γάρ μὴ ἀπλῶς ἀγαθὰ ἀλλὰ κακὰ ἀπλῶς τύχη φευκτά.* Susemihl comments: "37. \* \* τύχη Bu., <ἀν> τύχη mg. rc. P<sup>b</sup> Fr., graviorem corruptelam recte suspicatur Spengelius." Surely ἀπλῶς after *κακά* is impossible. Read therefore ἀλλὰ *κακὰ* ἀν πως τύχη, φευκτά.

ii §§ 27, 28 = 1237<sup>a</sup> 2 ἀ δεῖ συμφωνῆσαι. καὶ τοῦτο ἡ ἀρετὴ ποιεῖν καὶ ἡ πολιτικὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ὅπως οἱς μῆπω ἐστὶ γένηται. \* \* εὐθέτως δὲ καὶ πρὸ ὁδοῦ ἀνθρωπος ὁν (φύσει γάρ αὐτῷ ἀγαθὰ τὰ ἀπλῶς ἀγαθά), δομοίως δὲ καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀντὶ γυναικὸς καὶ εὐφυῆς ἀφυοῦς, διὰ τοῦ ἡδέος δὲ ἡ ὁδός ἀνάγκη εἶναι τὰ καλὰ ἡδέα. ὅταν δὲ τοῦτο διαφωνῇ, οὕπω σπουδαῖον τελέως κτλ. So Susemihl, who comments: "3. γένηται, \* \* εὐθέτως δὲ Spengelius, qui probe intellexit periisse initium protaseos, cuius apodosis sunt 6. ἀνάγκη—7. ἡδέα, itaque γένηται. <ἐπεὶ δὲ \* \*> εὐθέτως δὲ ci. Susem., γένηται, <ἀν ἦ> εὐθέτως τε secundum vestigia interpretis ('modo iam etc.') falsissime Fr. || 4. ὁν φύσει <σπουδαῖος> ci. Bu. (non melius) || 5. ἀντὶ] ἀν τι \* \* Fr., ἀν ἐπιθυμῆ ci. idem (pessime) || 6. εὐφυῆς ἀφυοῦς Bu. Fr., ἀφυῆς εὐφυοῦς II In. Ald. Bk., εὐφυῆς <ἀντ> ἀφυοῦς admodum dubitanter ci. Susem. ||" I cannot think that the scheme proposed by Spengel and accepted by Susemihl is at all hopeful. Am I too bold if I suggest that the words ἀνάγκη εἶναι τὰ καλὰ ἡδέα should be appended to ὅπως οἱς μῆπω ἐστὶ γένηται? Making this transposition, and inserting the article ὁ before ἀνθρωπος ὁν, but for the moment ignoring the words καὶ εὐφυῆς ἀφυοῦς, I would paraphrase as follows: 'these, τὰ ἀπλῶς ἀγαθόν and τὸ αὐτῷ ἀγαθόν, should be in harmony. Their harmony is brought about by virtue, and statecraft exists to make what is moral pleasant to those who at present do not find it so. One who is a human being and not a brute, a man and not a woman, is ready for this and on the road to it, and the road lies through pleasure.' But what is to be made of καὶ ἀφυῆς εὐφυοῦς? for such, and not καὶ εὐφυῆς ἀφυοῦς, is the

reading of the MSS. I find it difficult to believe, either that *εὐφυής ἀφυοῦς* will stand for *εὐφυής ἀντὶ ἀφυοῦς*, or that *ἀντὶ* has been dropped. Is it possible that *ἀφυής εὐφυοῦς* represents *εὐφυής εὐφυοῦς*, ‘the clever son of a clever father’? For the genitive without a preposition, compare Sophocles *Antigone* 38 *εἰτ' εὐγενῆς πέφυκας εἴτ' ἐσθλῶν κακῆ.*

ii §§ 29, 30 = 1237<sup>a</sup> 10 ὥστ' ἐπειδὴ ἡ πρώτη φιλία κατ' ἀρετὴν, ἔσονται καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπλῶς ἀγαθοῦ. τοῦτο δ' οὐχ ὅτι χρήσιμοι, ἀλλ' ἄλλον τρόπον· διχῶς γάρ ἔχει τὸ τρόπον ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀπλῶς ἀγαθόν. καὶ ὅμοιως ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀφελίμου, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἔξεων. ἄλλο γάρ τὸ ἀπλῶς ὀφελίμον καὶ τὸ καλὸν τοιοῦτον γυμνάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸ φαρμακεύεσθαι. ὥστε καὶ ἡ ἔξις ἡ ἀνθρώπου ἀρετῇ.

Susemihl comments “14. καλὸν τοιοῦτον (τοιοῦτο M<sup>b</sup>) haud integra, καλὸν τοιοῦτον, <οἷον τὸ> Spengelius, αὐτῷ (αὐτῷ Bu., ἐκάστῳ Fr.), olov τὸ Bonitzius Bu. Fr.” Surely καλὸν is wholly out of place. What we want is, I think, not τὸ ἀπλῶς ὀφελίμον καὶ καλόν, but something answering to τὸ τρόπον ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀπλῶς ἀγαθόν above; in fact, some such phrase as τὸ ἀπλῶς ὀφελίμον καὶ τρόπον. Now ΤΟΚΑΛ might represent ΤΟΙCΔΙ: for K = IC, A = Δ, Λ = I (Bast, p. 722 &c.). Whence, tentatively, I suggest: ἄλλο γάρ τὸ ἀπλῶς ὀφελίμον καὶ τοισδέ, δν τρόπον τὸ γυμνάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸ φαρμακεύεσθαι.

ii §§ 35, 36 = 1237<sup>a</sup> 36 διὸ τὸ φιλεῖν χαίρειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ φιλεῖσθαι ἔστιν. τὸ μὲν γάρ φιλεῖσθαι φιλητοῦ ἐνέργεια, τὸ δὲ καὶ φιλίας, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν ἐμψύχῳ, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀψύχῳ φιλεῖται γάρ καὶ τὰ ἄψυχα.

The argument of this passage should be: ‘therefore loving is enjoyment, being loved is not: for loving is an energy of the subject, being loved belongs to the object also; loving is in the animate, being loved is in the inanimate also, for inanimates also are loved.’ Now the clause τὸ μὲν [sc. φιλεῖν] ἐν ἐμψύχῳ, τὸ δὲ [sc. φιλεῖσθαι] καὶ ἐν ἀψύχῳ exactly expresses the required meaning. But τὸ μὲν γάρ φιλεῖσθαι φιλητοῦ ἐνέργεια, τὸ δὲ καὶ φιλίας is nonsense: since (1) it absurdly represents φιλεῖσθαι as an ἐνέργεια, (2) when it affirms that φιλεῖν belongs to φιλία also, it absurdly implies that φιλεῖν belongs to τὸ

φιλητόν. I see nothing for it but to substitute φιλεῖν for φιλεῖσθαι, φιλού for φιλητοῦ, and φιλητοῦ for φιλίας. I conceive that the corruptions are due to the use of φι with λ' superposed for the various parts of φίλος and its derivatives: for which use, see my note on §§ 39—41.

ii § 38 = 1237<sup>b</sup> 5 οὐδὲ δεῖ ἐμποδίζειν οὐθὲν τῶν συμβεβηκότων μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ ἀγαθὸν εὐφραίνειν. τι γὰρ σφόδρα δυσώδης λείπεται; ἀγαπᾶται γὰρ τῷ εὐνοεῖν, συζῆ δὲ μή.

Susemihl comments: "5. δεῖ In. et re. P<sup>b</sup>, δὴ Π Ald. Bk. in textu || 6. εἰ γὰρ σφόδρα δυσώδης, λείπεται ἀγαπᾶται cī. Bk., rec. Bu. Fr. (fors. recte) || 7. τῷ Fr., τὸ cet. || συζῆ δὲ μὴ] οὐ συζῆ δέ μή? Spengelius." I do not understand either the original text or the proposed corrections. Now the negative μή suggests that the verb to which it is attached, whatever that verb may be, should be in the infinitive. But ἀγαπᾶται γὰρ τὸ εὐνοεῖν συζῆν δὲ μή, 'good will without community of life is liked,' is a reason, not for deserting the σφόδρα δυσώδης, but for overlooking his misfortune. Whence, in place of λείπεται, I would write φιλεῖται: compare 1237<sup>a</sup> 39 φιλεῖται γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἄψυχα. With this change, the author of the treatise asks 'Why is it that A is fond of B, who is σφόδρα δυσώδης?' and answers 'because A desires B's good will provided that he does not live with him.' But with this proviso introduced, the illustration hardly answers to the proposition which it purports to illustrate: and accordingly I propose further for συζῆν to substitute εὐδέξειν. Finally, it is obvious for εὐφραίνειν to write εὐφραίνει. I would write then—οὐδὲ δεῖ ἐμποδίζειν οὐθὲν τῶν συμβεβηκότων μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ ἀγαθὸν εὐφραίνει. τι γὰρ <ο> σφόδρα δυσώδης φιλεῖται; ἀγαπᾶται γὰρ τὸ εὐνοεῖν εὐδέξειν δὲ μή: that is to say—'and no attendant circumstance should neutralize the good. For instance, why is it that people are fond of a σφόδρα δυσώδης? It is because they like his good will in spite of his infirmity.'

ii §§ 39—41 = 1237<sup>b</sup> 8 αὗτη μὲν οὖν ἡ πρώτη φιλία, ἥν πάντες ὄμολογοῦσιν αἱ δ' ἄλλαι δι' αὐτὴν καὶ δοκοῦσι καὶ ἀμφισβητοῦνται. βέβαιον γάρ τι δοκεῖ ἡ φιλία· μόνη δ' αὕτη βέβαιος. τὸ γὰρ κεκριμένον βέβαιον, τὰ δὲ μὴ ταχὺ γινόμενα

μηδὲ φαδίως [οὐ] ποιεῖ τὴν κρίσιν ὄρθην. οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ἄνευ πέπτεως φιλία βέβαιος· ή δὲ πίστις οὐκ ἄνευ χρόνου. δεῖ γὰρ πεπτεῖν λαβεῖν, ὥσπερ λέγει καὶ Θέογνις·

οὐ γὰρ ἄν εἰδείης ἀνδρὸς νόου οὐδὲ γυναικός,  
πρὶν πειραθείης ὥσπερ ὑποζυγίου.

— δέ ἄνευ χρόνου φίλος, ἀλλὰ βούλονται φίλοι, καὶ μάλιστα  
— ανθάνει ή τοιαύτη ἔξις ὡς φιλία. ὅταν γὰρ προθύμως ἔχωσι  
— φίλοι είναι, διὰ τὸ πάνθ' ὑπηρετεῖν τὰ φιλικὰ ἀλλήλοις, οἴονται  
— ὅτι βούλεσθαι φίλοι, ἀλλ' είναι φίλοι. τὸ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν  
— φίλων συμβαίνει καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς φιλίας· οὐ γὰρ εἰ βούλονται  
— φίλανειν, ὑγιαίνουσιν, ὥστ' οὐδὲ εἰ φίλοι βούλονται, ἤδη καὶ  
— φίλοι εἰστιν.

Omitting *οὐ* after *ραδίως*, Bonitz, *observationes* p. 64, raises the question whether *διαλυόμενα* should be appended. Fritzsche and Susemihl are content to omit the negative. I think that it should be retained, *γινόμενα* being understood with it. The words *τὰ μὴ ταχὺ γινόμενα μηδὲ φαδίως οὐ* will then mean 'what comes into existence slowly but surely.' And now I come to more serious difficulties. The sentence *οὐδὲ ἄνευ χρόνου φίλος ἀλλὰ βούλονται φίλοι* is doubly unsatisfactory; inasmuch as (1) the change from singular to plural is awkward, and (2) the omission of *είναι* after *βούλονται* is unjustifiable. Now Bast writes (Schäfer's *Gregorius Corinthius*, p. 848), "φίλος, φίλιος, Φίλων, Φιλόξενος, multaque aliae voces, quae a syllaba φίλ incipiunt, a festinantibus scribis indicantur sola syllaba φί, cui Lambda superscribunt. Itaque ut veram vocem eruas, consideranda est series orationis: et vel sic res passim caret successu." In proof of this he alleges convincing instances: and I may add that in the Cambridge MS of the *Eudemians*, though not in the passage before us, *φί* with *λ'* superposed stands indifferently for *φιλία*, *φιλίας*, *φιλαν*, *φίλος*, *φίλου*. Let us suppose that the existing MSS of the *Eudemians* are derived from a MS which in this passage, where our texts give *φίλος*, *φίλοι*, had *φί* with *λ'* superposed: and let us interpret the symbol in such a way that in each instance sense and grammar may be secured. We shall immediately and unhesitatingly write *οὐδὲ ἄνευ χρόνου φιλοῦσιν ἀλλὰ βούλονται*

φιλεῖν, οἴονται οὐ βούλεσθαι φιλεῖν ἀλλ' εἶναι φίλοι, οὐδὲ φιλεῖν βούλονται ηδη καὶ φίλοι εἰσίν. But οὐδὲ ἄνευ χρόνου φιλούσιν ἀλλὰ βούλονται φιλεῖν is a trochaic line, presumably a proverb adapted for its present use by the substitution of οὐδὲ for οὐκ: and with this fact staring us in the face, it is obvious to suppose that at the beginning of § 40 φιλία has similarly taken the place of φίλος, and that the author has here incorporated in his text an iambic fragment, οὐκ ἄνει πίστεως φίλος | βέβαιος, η δὲ πίστις οὐκ ἄνευ χρόνου. That he would not scruple to add to a quotation such words as δέ ἔστι δέ, appears from 1235<sup>b</sup> 20, where, when he cites οὐθεὶς ἐραστὴς ὅστις οὐκ ἀεὶ φιλεῖ, he inserts the γάρ which is necessary to bring the quotation into his argument. In a word we have in this one passage no fewer than five instances in which the compendium noted by Bast has been misinterpreted by copyists. Compare also §§ 14, 22, 36, 50 of this chapter.

ii §§ 49, 50 = 1238<sup>a</sup> 11 ἐκ δὴ τούτων φανερὸν ὅτι ὄρθως λέγεται ὅτι η φιλία τῶν βέβαιων, ὡσπερ η εὐδαιμονία τῶν αὐτάρκων. καὶ ὄρθως εἴρηται

η γάρ φύσις βέβαιον, οὐ τὰ χρήματα.

πολὺ δὲ κάλλιον εἰπεῖν ὅτι η ἀρετὴ τῆς φύσεως, καὶ ὅτι χρόνος λέγεται δεικνύναι τὸν φιλούμενον, καὶ αἱ ἀτυχίαι μᾶλλον τῶι εὐτυχιῶν. τότε γάρ δῆλον ὅτι κοινὰ <τὰ> τῶν φίλων κτλ.

It seems to me that three or four trifling alterations are required in these sentences: (1) it is obvious to put a larger stop, indeed a full stop, after φύσεως, and a smaller stop, say a colon, after τὰ χρήματα; (2) ὅτι χρόνος λέγεται κτλ cannot depend either upon φανερόν or upon ὄρθως λέγεται or upon ὄρθως εἴρηται or upon κάλλιον εἰπεῖν, whilst it is obvious that χρόνος is at once connected with, and distinguished from, *a* ἀτυχίαι; in order to escape from the difficulty created by the ὅτι, and at the same time to mark the relation of χρόνος to *a* ἀτυχίαι, I would read καὶ οἱ τε χρόνος λέγεται κτλ; (3) what we want is not so much τὸν φιλούμενον, as rather τὸν φίλον and, on the grounds stated above on §§ 40, 41, I have no scruple in making the alteration; (4) where the MSS give τῶν φίλων

and Susemihl *τὰ τῶν φίλων*, I should prefer the traditional phrase, *τὰ φίλων*, for which see *Nic. eth.* viii ix § 1 = 1159<sup>b</sup> 31.

ii §§ 51, 52 = 1238<sup>a</sup> 25 ἔστι γάρ καὶ τὸ ἀπλῶς ἥδυ τῷ τέλει ὄριστέον καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ. ὁμολογήσαιεν δὲ ἀν καὶ οἱ πολλοί, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν ἀποβαίνοντων μόνον, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ πόματος καλοῦσι γλύκιον τοῦτο γάρ διὰ τὸ ἀποβαῖνον οὐχ ἥδυ, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μὴ συνεχές, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρώτον ἔξαπατᾶ.

Here ὅτι before ἐκ τῶν ἀποβαίνοντων is a suggestion of Fritzsche's, the MSS having *οὐκ*, while *ἔξαπατᾶ* is a conjecture of Bussemaker's, the MSS having *ἔξαπατᾶν*. I think that in both places the reading of the MSS should be retained, but that *οὐ* should be inserted after *τοῦτο γάρ*. Apparently the commentators recognize only (1) an earlier impression of sense and (2) a later. As I understand, the author distinguishes (1) an earlier impression of sense (the wine, agreeable), (2) a later (the wine, no longer agreeable), and (3) what he calls 'the consequences' (a subsequent headache, *κραυπάλη*); but in the present instance he declines to take 'the consequences' into account. Writing *τοῦτο γάρ οὐ διὰ τὸ ἀποβαῖνον οὐχ ἥδυ*, I would paraphrase: 'in defining the absolutely pleasurable, we must look to the end and to the duration of the pleasure. This would be admitted even by the generality of people, judging, not merely in view of the consequences, but in the way in which they pronounce upon the merits of a glass of wine: for, when they say that it is not good, they are thinking, not of the consequences, but of the fact that, though at first they fancied they liked it, it does not continue to please.'

iv §§ 5, 6 = 1239<sup>a</sup> 17 ὅταν δὲ ὑπερβολὴ ἡ, οὐδὲν αὐτοὶ ἐπιξητῶνται ως δεῖ ἡ ἀντιφιλεῖσθαι ἡ ὁμοίως ἀντιφιλεῖσθαι, οἷον εἴ τις ἀξιοῖ τὸν θεόν. φανερὸν δὴ ὅτι φίλοι μέν, ὅταν ἐν τῷ ἵσφ, τὸ ἀντιφιλεῖν δὲ ἔστιν ἄνευ τοῦ φίλους εἶναι.

The purport of the former of these sentences is, that, where there is great disparity, the inferior does not expect a return, or at any rate a like return, of his affection; and the relation of man to God is alleged as the strongest possible instance. Fritzsche, in his version, puts the required meaning into *οἷον εἴ*

*τις ἀξιοῦ τὸν θεόν* by means of an ellipse: “exempli gratia, si quis postulet, ut a deo summo ardore redametur, [ineptus esse videatur].” The subaudition is bold. It seems to me that, **for** *εἰ τις, οὐθεὶς* should be substituted. In the sentence which follows, the clause *φανερὸν δὴ ὅτι φίλοι μὲν, ὅταν ἐν τῷ ἵσω-* though meagre, is not, perhaps, unintelligible; but it is difficult to see the relevance of the supplementary clause, *τὸ ἀντιφιλέν δὲ ἔστιν ἀνευ τοῦ φίλους εἶναι*. If however we duplicate the word *ἀντιφιλέν*, and read *ὅταν ἐν τῷ ἵσω τὸ <ἀντιφιλέν>*, *ἀντιφιλέν δὲ ἔστιν ἀνευ τοῦ φίλους εἶναι*, the former clause gains in substance, and the latter clause's connection with it becomes clear: ‘it is plain that men are friends when there is mutual affection on an equal footing; but, as shown above in § 2, there is such a thing as mutual affection where those who feel it are not friends.’

v §§ 3, 4 = 1239<sup>b</sup> 16 ὥστε οὕτως μὲν τὸ ὄμοιον φίλον, ὅτι <τὸ> ἀγαθὸν ὄμοιον, ἔστι δὲ ὡς καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἡδύ. τοῖς γὰρ ὄμοιοις ταῦθ' ἡδέα, καὶ ἔκαστον δὲ φύσει αὐτὸ αὐτῷ ἡδύ. διὸ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ αἱ ἔξεις καὶ συνημμερεύσεις τοῖς ὄμογενέσιν ἡδισται ἀλλήλοις, καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις ζώοις καὶ ταῦτη ἐνδέχεται καὶ τοὺς φαιλοὺς ἀλλήλους φιλεῖν.

In this chapter the author refers the three kinds of friendship discriminated in ii §§ 13, 14, &c, to the two principles, *ὄμοιον ὄμοιῷ* and *ἐναντίον ἐναντίῳ*, which are stated in i §§ 7—12. The friendship of virtue and the friendship of pleasure depend, he tells us, upon *ὄμοιον ὄμοιῷ*, so that the friends are so on the strength of mutual likeness: but the friendship of utility depends upon *ἐναντίον ἐναντίῳ*, so that the friends are so on the strength of mutual unlikeness. At 1239<sup>b</sup> 16, leaving the friendship of virtue, which plainly depends upon *ὄμοιον ὄμοιῷ*, since the good is *ἀπλοῦν*, the author passes to the friendship of pleasure. Like persons, he says, derive pleasure from the same things; and accordingly, as each is naturally pleasant to himself, he finds pleasure in the other who is like him. It is therefore the mutual resemblance of the two persons, and not, as in the case of the friendship of utility, their diversity, which makes them friends on the footing of pleasure. Later, at 1239<sup>b</sup> 20, we

are told that bad men are friendly in this way. So much is clear. But the intervening sentence—*διὸ καὶ φωνὰι καὶ αἱ ἔξεις καὶ συνημερεύσεις τοῖς ὁμογενέσιν ἥδισται ἀλλήλοις, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοις*—is manifestly corrupt: and Susemihl's note—“ 19. αἱ ἔξεις (αἱ om. II<sup>a</sup> et editiones) corrupta esse recte monet Fr.”—adequately represents all that the commentators have to tell. I propose, first, to insert E before *φωνάι*; secondly, in that word to substitute Δ for A; thirdly, in *ἄλλήλοις* to substitute Δ for the third Α, and E for O. It will be seen that the three substitutions have good palaeographical warrant, whilst it may be thought that the insertion of E is the more excusable as it follows AI. In this way I get *διὸ καὶ ἐφ' ᾧν δίκαιαι ἔξεις, καὶ συνημερεύσεις τοῖς ὁμογενέσιν ἥδισται· ἀλλ' ἡδεῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοις. καὶ ταύτη ἐνδέχεται καὶ τοὺς φαῦλους ἀλλήλους φίλειν*: ‘therefore, in the case of persons of moral habits, [not only the society of the virtuous, but] daily intercourse also with persons of their own race is highly pleasurable: indeed such intercourse with the other animals is pleasurable also. And in this way it is possible even for the vicious to be fond of one another.’ In case exception should be taken to the slovenly phrase *ἐφ' ᾧν δίκαιαι ἔξεις*, I may note that this use of *ἐπί* is frequent in the *Eudemian ethics*, and I may quote in exemplification vi § 16 = 1240<sup>b</sup> 30 *διὸ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπουν μὲν δοκεῖ ἔκαστος αὐτὸς αὐτῷ φίλος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων οἷον ἵππος αὐτὸς αὐτῷ οὐκ ἄρα φίλος*<sup>1</sup>. With the statements made about *ἀγαθοὶ* and *φαῦλοι*, compare i § 5 = 1234<sup>b</sup> 34 and ii § 54 = 1238<sup>a</sup> 35 respectively. For *ἔξεις* in this connection, compare ii § 7 = 1236<sup>a</sup> 5 *τούτοις δὲ ἡδέα τὰ κατὰ τὰς ἔξεις· ταῦτα δὲ ἔστι τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ καλά.*

vii § 2 = 1241<sup>a</sup> 7 *δοκεῖ δὲ ὥσπερ \* \* καὶ ἡ εὔνοια οὐκ αὐτοῦ εὔνοια τοῦ εὐνοιζομένου εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τοῦ φεύνοει.*

The word *εὔνοια*, which now stands before *τοῦ εὐνοιζομένου*, is plainly a superfluity, whilst the genitives *τοῦ εὐνοιζομένου* and *τοῦ φεύνοει* seem to want a preposition. Read therefore *οὐκ αὐτοῦ ἔνεκα τοῦ εὐνοιζομένου*, comparing for the use of *ἔνεκα* in

<sup>1</sup> It seems to me unnecessary either to add *οὐ*, after *ζῷων* or to suppose a lacuna before *οὐκ ἄρα*.

this connection *magna moralia* B xii § 8 = 1212<sup>a</sup> 7 γένοιτο δὲ ἡ εὔνοια φιλία, εἰ προσλάβοι βούλησιν τοῦ τάγαθὰ δυνατὸς ὁ πρᾶξαι πράττειν ἐκείνου ἔνεκεν φέστιν εὔνους. The editors whose conjectures are summarized by Susemihl, one and all suppose that *εὔνοια* is compared in this respect with ἡ φιλία or rather with ἡ κατ' ἀρετὴν φιλία. For myself, I fancy, but plainly cannot prove, that ὡσπερ καὶ represents ὡς or οἷς ὑπάρχει, or ὡς or οἷς ὑπῆρχεν, the phrase being added in order to distinguish the initial *εὔνοια* here in question from the reciprocal *εὔνοια* which always accompanies friendship: ἔστι γὰρ ἡ εὔνοια ἀρχὴ φιλίας· ὁ μὲν γὰρ φίλος πᾶς εὔνους, ὁ δὲ εὔνους οὐ πᾶς φίλος. § 3 = 1241<sup>a</sup> 12.

vii §§ 3—5 = 1241<sup>a</sup> 13 ἀρχομένῳ γὰρ ἔοικεν ὁ εὔνοῶν μόνον, διὸ ἀρχὴ φιλίας, ἀλλ' οὐ φιλία.

\* \* δοκοῦσι γὰρ οἵ τε φίλοι ὁμονοεῖν καὶ οἱ ὁμονοοῦντες φίλοι εἰναι. ἔστι δὲ οὐ περὶ πάντα ἡ ὁμόνοια ἡ φιλική, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὰ πρακτὰ τοῖς ὁμονοοῦσι, καὶ δσα εἰς τὸ συζῆν συντείνει, οὕτε μόνον κατὰ διάνοιαν ἡ κατὰ ὅρεξιν (ἔστι γὰρ τάνατια τὸ κινοῦν ἐπιθυμεῖν, ὡσπερ ἐν τῷ ἀκρατεῖ διαφωνεῖ τοῦτο), οὐ δέ κατὰ τὴν προαιρεσιν ὁμονοεῖν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἡ ὁμόνοια· οἵ γε φαῦλοι ταῦτα προαιρούμενοι καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦντες βλάπτουσιν ἀλλήλους.

I am not satisfied that it is necessary with Bonitz and Susemihl to assume a lacuna between the discussions of *εὔνοια* and *ὁμόνοια*. As I understand, the author says that *εὔνοια* is, not friendship, but the beginning of it: and that, if there is to be friendship, there must be, not only *εὔνοια*, but also *ὁμόνοια*. And so he passes from the one to the other. They are however intimately connected; and accordingly at 1241<sup>a</sup> 1 they are together brought upon the stage, and at 1241<sup>a</sup> 34 they are together dismissed from it. The transition having been effected, the author proceeds to explain his conception of *φιλικὴ ὁμόνοια*. As I understand, he tells us (1) that it is concerned, not with everything, but with τὰ πρακτὰ τοῖς ὁμονοοῦσι καὶ δσα εἰς τὸ συζῆν συντείνει: (2) that it is not mere agreement κατὰ διάνοιαν or κατ' ὅρεξιν; for, since διάνοια and ὅρεξις may go counter to one another, as they do in

the ἀκρατής, A and B may agree *κατὰ διάνοιαν* and yet disagree *κατ’ ὅρεξιν*, and C and D may agree *κατ’ ὅρεξιν* and yet disagree *κατὰ διάνοιαν*, and in either of these cases there may be disagreement in action: (3) that it is not mere agreement in respect of *προαιρεσις* and of *ἐπιθυμία*; for the *όμονοια* of which we are thinking is the *όμονοια* of the good, in contradistinction to that of the bad, who purpose and desire the same things to their mutual injury. To obtain this meaning I propose tentatively the following restoration: *οὐτε μόνον κατὰ διάνοιαν η κατὰ ὅρεξιν, εστι γάρ τάνατία τὸ κινοῦν <κινεῖν καὶ τὸ ἐπιθυμοῦν> ἐπιθυμεῖν, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ ἀκρατεῖ διαφωνεῖ τοῦτο· οὐδὲ [codd. οὐ δεῖ] κατὰ τὴν προαιρεσιν ὄμονοεῖν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, ἐπειδὴ [codd. ἐπὶ δὲ] τῶν ἀγαθῶν η ὄμονοια, οἱ δὲ [codd. οἱ γε] φαῦλοι ταῦτα [codd. ταῦτα] προαιρούμενοι καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦντες βλάπτουσιν ἀλλήλους.* For *τὸ κινοῦν*, compare Θ ii § 21 = 1248<sup>a</sup> 24 *τὸ δὲ ξητούμενον τοῦτ’ εστί, τις η τῆς κενήσεως ἀρχὴ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ δῆλον δὴ ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ ὅλῳ θεός, [καὶ] καν ἐκείνῳ. κινεῖ γάρ πως πάντα τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν θεῖον.*

ix § 2 = 1241<sup>b</sup> 17 *ἐπεὶ δ’ ὁμοίως ἔχει ψυχὴ πρὸς σῶμα καὶ τεχνίτης πρὸς ὅργανον καὶ δεσπότης πρὸς δοῦλον, τούτων μὲν οὐκ εστι κοινωνία. οὐ γάρ δῦ εστίν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἐν, τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐνος [οὐδέν].*

So Susemihl, who comments as follows: “20. οὐδέν secl. γρ. Vict. et Fr., *ἴδιον* ci. et rec. Bu.” I think that the *οὐδέν* of the MSS should be written *οὐ δὲ*, in the sense of *ἐν δὲ οὐ*. The clause will then mean: ‘one of the correlatives is a unity; the other is not a unity, but a property or possession of the unity.’

ix § 5 = 1241<sup>b</sup> 36 *κατ’ ἀναλογίαν δὲ η ἀριστοκρατικὴ ἀρίστη καὶ βασιλικὴ.*

Bussemaker conjectures that *ἀρίστη* should be bracketed, and apparently Susemihl approves the suggestion. I think that, in place of *ἀρίστη*, we should read *ὅριστέα*. Compare ii § 51 = 1238<sup>a</sup> 25 *εστι γάρ τὸ ἀπλῶς ηδὺ τῷ τέλει ὅριστέον καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ.*

x § 22 = 1243<sup>a</sup> 25 *ότε δὲ καὶ μεταλαμβάνων καὶ ἀμφιβάλλει.* Fritzsche would insert the article *ο* before *μεταλαμβάνων* and

bracket *καὶ* before *ἀμφιβάλλει*. Bearing in mind the palaeo-graphical equivalence of K and IC, I propose: ὅτὲ δὲ *καὶ* ~~μεταλαμβάνων~~ *ἴσα ἀντιβάλλει*. It is true that *ἀμφιβάλλοντα* occurs at 1243<sup>a</sup> 12: but a glance at that passage will show that what is suitable there, would be unsuitable here.

x § 23 = 1243<sup>a</sup> 28 . . . . ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ τῶν νομισμάτων ἀποδόσει. *καὶ* γὰρ ἐνταῦθα περὶ τούτων ἡ ἀμφισβήτησις διμέλη, γὰρ ἀξιοῖ πῶς τότ’ ἦν, δ δὲ πῶς νῦν, ἀν μὴ διείπωνται.

What we want here is, I think, not *ἀξιοῖ πῶς τότ’ ἦν* and *πῶς νῦν*, but *ἀξιοῖ τι ὡς τότ’ ἦν* and *τι ὡς νῦν*: ‘the one makes a claim at the old rate, the other makes a claim at the new rate, unless the contract contains an exact provision.’

HENRY JACKSON.

9 July 1899.

ON NICOMACHEAN ETHICS III i § 17, 1111<sup>a</sup> 8, AND  
REPUBLIC VIII 563 c<sup>1</sup>.

UNDER the head of the 'Ιερεῖαι, editors of the fragments of Aeschylus have collected the testimonia for an incident of the poet's life. In certain of his plays, we are told, or, at any rate, in one of them, he was thought to have violated the rules of propriety, if not those of religion, by unwarrantable references to the mysteries of Demeter. According to Heracleides Ponticus apud Eustratium, p. 40<sup>a</sup>, the populace would have killed him upon the stage, if he had not taken refuge at the altar of Dionysus. According to Aelian, *v. h.* v xix, he was formally accused of impiety, and would have been stoned, but for the interposition of his brother Ameinias, the hero of Salamis. According to Clement of Alexandria, *stromata* II xiv § 60 = 461 Potter, he was brought before the Areopagus, but on the plea that he had not been initiated, was discharged. (See Lobeck's *Aglaophamus*, p. 77.) However the precise facts may have been,—whether his defence was made in the theatre, or before an ordinary court, or on the Areopagus,—it is clear that in defending himself he used some notable phrase, which serves Aristotle, *Nicomachean ethics* III i § 17, 1111<sup>a</sup> 8, as an example of the plea of ignorance of an offence alleged: ὃ δὲ πράττει ἀγνοήστειν ἀν τις, οἶον λέγοντες φασιν ἐκπεσεῖν αὐτοὺς ή οὐκ εἰδέναι ὅτι ἀπόρρητα ἔν, ὡσπερ Αἰσχύλος τὰ μυστικά: 'a man may not know what he is doing; thus, in speaking, men say that a thing escaped them, or that they did not know that it was a secret, as Aeschylus said about the mysteries.' It would seem then that, in answering an accusation of divulging the mysteries, Aeschylus pleaded, either, that 'what he had said escaped him,' or, that 'he did not know that what he had said was a secret,' or, possibly, that 'what he had said escaped him in ignorance of its secret meaning.' He may perhaps have added, as Clement relates, that he had never been initiated.

<sup>1</sup> This paper was communicated to the Cambridge Philological Society, 25 February 1886.

There is however here no clear evidence as to the precise words which Aeschylus used in urging his plea.

I now turn to another so-called fragment, which in Dindorf's collection of fragments of ἄδηλα δράματα is numbered 326, and in Nauck's, 341. It is preserved by Plato *republic* 563 C οὐκοῦν κατ' Αἰσχύλον, ἔφη, ἐροῦμεν ὃ τι νῦν ἡλθ' ἐπὶ στόμα; by Plutarch *amatorius* 763 B ὃ τοίνυν ἐν ἀρχῇ καιρὸν εἶχε ρῆθηναι μᾶλλον, οὐδὲ νῦν, ἐπει τὸ οὖν ἡλθεν ἐπὶ στόμα, κατ' Αἰσχύλον, ἀρρητον ἔάσειν μοι δοκῶ; and by Themistius *Orat.* iv p. 52 B ἐπειδὴ κατ' Αἰσχύλον νῦν ἡλθεν ἐπὶ στόμα ὃ πάλαι ἔχρην. Dindorf contents himself with printing these three passages, but seemingly assumes that they preserve a fragment of tragedy: Nauck is less cautious, and extracts the words ὃ τι νῦν ἡλθ' ἐπὶ στόμα, writing νῦν as an enclitic, presumably on metrical grounds.

But is there any proof that the phrase in question belongs to a tragedy? and is it a mere coincidence that the phrase exactly answers to the requirements of the situation indicated in *Nicomachean ethics* III i § 17?

Let it be supposed that Aeschylus himself, having been taxed with the betrayal of the mysteries, replied in plain prose—εἰπον ὃ τι ἡλθεν ἐπὶ στόμα, or εἰπον ὃ τι ἡλθεν ἐπὶ στόμα οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτι ἀπόρρητον ἦν, 'I said the first thing which occurred to me,' or 'I said the first thing which occurred to me, not knowing that there was anything in it which had to do with the mysteries.' The occasion of the phrase, and perhaps something unusual in its turn, might give to it a certain currency, which would account at once for the purely proverbial use of the locution in the *republic*, and for the distinctly historical reference to it in the *ethics*.

I have however yet another word to say. In reading the sentence in the *ethics*, I have an uneasy feeling that, wholly apart from any doubts which have been raised about the nominative λέγοντες and about the accusative αὐτούς, the phrase ἐκπεσεῖν αὐτούς is strangely bald. It has occurred to me that my misgiving would be removed, if, substituting ἀ for ἡ, we were to read—οἷον λέγοντες φασιν ἐκπεσεῖν αὐτούς ἀ οὐκ εἰδέναι ὅτι ἀπόρρητα ἦν.

ON THEMISTIUS II εἰς Κωνστάντιον 32 C<sup>1</sup>.

THEMISTIUS' second oration has for its theme ὅτι μάλιστα φιλόσοφος ὁ βασιλεύς. In the course of the argument he reminds us that this proposition is affirmed by Plato, not in isolated passages, but in whole dialogues; in the *republic*, the *laws*, the *Phaedrus*. Then with regard to the dialogue last-named the orator continues—

ἡ γὰρ εὐδαίμων ἔκεινη καὶ μακαρία χορεία, ἦν αὐτὸς μὲν φησι μετὰ τοῦ Διὸς χορεύειν, ἄλλους δὲ μετ' ἄλλων θεῶν, καὶ οἱ τὸν ὄρώμενον γνωματεύοντες εἰ φιλόσοφος τε καὶ ἡγεμονικὸς τὴν φύσιν ἔστι, καὶ ἄλλα δὴ ὅσα μυρία οὐκ ἀμυδρῶς ἔστι λέγοντος δὲ λέγω [sc. ὅτι φιλόσοφός ἔστιν ὁ βασιλεύς], οὐδὲ πρὸς μόνους τοὺς ὁξύτερον ἀκούοντας.

Remarking that ἦν αὐτὸς μὲν κτλ is derived from the *Phaedrus*, Petavius proceeds “Quod sequitur, καὶ οἱ τὸν ὄρώμενον γνωματεύοντες, vereor ut integrum sit. Forte, εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀρματεύοντες”: and this note is reproduced by Dindorf. Petavius is right in thinking that there is a corruption; but the corruption is of the very slightest, being no more than the substitution of O for E in the word ἔρώμενον. Compare Plato *Phaedrus* 252 E οἱ μὲν δὴ οὖν Διὸς Διόν τινα εἶναι Σητοῦσι τὴν ψυχὴν τὸν ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἔρώμενον σκοποῦσιν οὖν εἰ φιλόσοφος τε καὶ ἡγεμονικὸς τὴν φύσιν, καὶ ὅταν αὐτὸν οὐρόντες ἔρασθωσιν, πᾶν ποιοῦσιν ὅπως τοιοῦτος ἔσται. Whence restore οἱ τὸν ἔρώμενον γνωματεύοντες. With this change, and the addition of a comma after ὅσα μυρία, the sentence gives an excellent sense.

HENRY JACKSON.

<sup>1</sup> This note was communicated to the Cambridge Philological Society, 23 February 1893. See *Proceedings*, p. 9.

## EMENDATIONS IN THE FIFTH BOOK OF MANILIUS.

8—11 me properare *uiam* mundus iubet omnia circum |  
sidera uestatum toto decurrere caelo, | cum semel aetherios  
*iussus* concendere currus | sumnum contigerim sua per fastigia  
culmen] *etiam...aussus*.

34—37 should be written and punctuated thus: Colchidis  
<*in*> magicas artes qui uertere Iolcon | Medeam iussit mouit-  
que uenena per orbem, | nunc quoque, *uicina puppi* ceu nauiget,  
Argo | a dextri lateris ducit regione per astra. *et...uicinam*  
*puppim* MSS.

43—47 totumque uolet transnare profundum | classibus,  
atque alios meases *aliumque* uidere | Phasin, et in cautes  
Tiphyn superare *trementem*. | tolle *istos* ortus hominum sub  
sidere tali, | sustuleris bellum Troiae] *altumque...ruentem* (or  
*tenentem*)...*sitos*.

85—87 should be written thus: nec non alterno desultor  
sidere dorso | quadrupedum et stabilis poterit defigere plantas, |  
*pesque, uolubile* (or *uolatile*) *onus*, ludet per terga uolantum.  
*per quo labite quos* (al. *per quos labit equos*) MSS. IV 204 should  
be written: *pes* noua maturi *pulsat cum* munera Bacchi. *per...*  
*pus amu* (al. *post annum*) MSS.

105—107 should be written thus: ne crede seuerae | frontis  
opus *fingi*, strictos *aut* corda Catones | abruptumque *pari* Tor-  
quatum et Horatia facta. *signi...que in* (al. *in*)...*patri* MSS.

110, 111 in lusus *agiles* agilemque uigorem | desudant]  
*faciles*.

112—114 in uulnus numquam uirtus sed saepe libido |  
impellit, turpisque emitur uel morte uoluptas, | et minimum  
cecidisse malum est, quia crimine *uictum*] *uincunt*.

183—185 should be written and punctuated thus: *quaque erat Actaeon sublimis laude, set ante | quam canibus noua praeda fuit, ducuntur et ipsi, | retibus et claudunt campos, formidine montis. siluis imitandus (al. mutandus) et MSS.*

194—196 should be written and punctuated thus: *ac per nulla sequi dubias uestigia praedas, | luxuriae quia terra parum, fastidit et orbem | uenter, et ipse gulam Nereus ex aequore pascit. fastidiet MSS.*

207 *exoriturque canis latratque canicula flamas] lat<rans spi>ratque.*

219 should be written, with MS authority for every word: *nascentem quam nec pelagi restinxerit unda.*

231, 232 should be written and punctuated thus: *neu talis mirere artis sub sidere tali | cernis ut ipsum etiam sidus uenetur in astris ? nec MSS.*

241, 242 should be written thus: *teque tibi credet semperque, ut matre resectum, | abiunget thalamis, segetemque interseret uuis. qui...adiungit calamis (al. thalamis) MSS.*

244, 245 *nec parce uina recepta | hauriet, e miseris et fructibus ipse fruetur] emeritis.*

265—268 should be written thus: *Arabum Surii mulcebit odores | et medios unguenta dabit referentia flatus, | ut sit adulterio succorum gratia maior. | munditiae <cordi> cultusque artesque decorae. siluis (and decori for decorae) MSS.*

277 and 278 are spurious as well as 279.

301, 302 *Hectoris ille faces areu telisque fugauit | mittebatque suos ignes et mille carinis] ciues e.*

355—357 *hoc est artis opus, non exspectare gementis | set non auditos mutorum tollere morbos | et sibi non aegros iam dudum credere corpus] poscere credi.*

395, 396 *cum se patrio producet in aequore Piscis | in caelumque ferens alienis finibus ibit] producens.*

Before 400 should be inserted the verses which Jacob numbers 531 and 532, thus: *et perlucentes cupiens prensare lapillos | uerticibus mediis oculos immittet auaros, | cumque suis dominibus concha ualloque latentis | protrahet immersus.*

419 *ambiguus terrae partus pelagoque creatur] pelagique.*  
ii 231 *ambiguus terrae Capricornus, Aquarius undis] tergo.*

451, 452 should be written thus: *facit ora seuerae | frontis <is> ac uultus componit pondere mentis.*

455 should be placed after 458, thus: *quodque agit, id credit, stupefactus imagine iuris, | tutorisue supercilium patruive rigorem.*

461 should be placed after 465 (thus: *nec minus hac scelerum facie rerumque tumultu | quaerent Medeae natos*), and 462 should be written thus: *gaudebunt Atrei rixam memorare sepultam. luxum...sepulchra* (al. *sepulchri*) MSS.

478—481 should be written thus: *et, si tanta operum uires commenta negarint, | externis tamen aptus erit, nunc uoce poeta | nunc tacito gestu, referetque affectibus ornans | et sua dicendo faciet. poetis...ora* MSS.

529 (530 Jacob) should be placed before 528, and 527—530 should be written thus: *ille etiam fuluas audius numerabit harenas | paruaque ramentis faciet momenta minutis, | perfundetque noua stillantia litora ponto | proluuie, leget et census spumantis in aurum. nouo...protulit ut legeret* MSS, *ille leget* Huet.

564, 565 extulit et liquido Nereis ab aequore uultum | et casus miserata *tuos* rorauit et *undas*] *tibi os...ulnas.*

595 should be placed after 601 (thus: *ceti subeuntis uerberat ora | Gorgoneo tinctum defigens sanguine ferrum*), and 593—596 should be written thus: *quassis hunc subleuat alis | pes suus et caelo pendens iaculatur in hostem : | illa subit contra. hic subuolat...Perseus* MSS.

615, 616 soluitque haerentem uinelis de rupe puellam | desponsam *pugna* nupturam dote mariti] *magna.*

630, 631 should be written and punctuated thus: *uinctorum dominus, sociusque in parte catenae | interdum, poenis ut noxia corpora seruet. innoxia...seruat* (al. *noxia...seruet*) MSS.

641, 642 should be written thus: *nam quis* (or *num quis*) *ab extremo citius reuolauerit orbe | nuntius extremumue leuis penetrauerit orbem ? quamuis* (al. *quamuis*) MSS.

655, 656 et caeli meditatus iter uestigia perdet, | *et peneua et* pendens populum suspendet ab ipso] *aethere uel* (= *et nepeuaet*).

659—661 should be written and punctuated thus: *hoc trahit in pelagi caedis et uulnera natos | squamigeri gregis,*

*extensis laqueare profundum | retibus et pontum uincis artare  
furentes. furentem* MSS.

686—688 should be written thus: adpelluntque suo deduc-  
tum ex aequore fluctum | claudendoque negant *<abi>tum : dein*  
(or *reditum : tum*) *succidit unda, | area et epoto* per solem umore  
nitescit. *tum demum suscipit undas aepa* (al. *aepia*) *et ponto*  
MSS, *area* edd. uett., *poto* Barth, *ac ripa epoto* Rossberg.

689, 690 congeritur siccum pelagus mensisque profundi |  
canities sed nota maris] *detonsa*.

708—710 ille tigrim rabie soluet pacique domabit, | quae-  
que alia infestant *silvis* animalia terras | iunget amicitia secum]  
*furiis.*

725 signaque transgressus *mutat per* tempora Phoebus]  
*permutat.*

A. E. HOUSMAN.

## EMENDATIONES HOMERICAE (OD. XIII—XVI).

v 28

αὐτὰρ Ὁδυσσεὺς

πολλὰ πρὸς ἡέλιον κεφαλὴν τρέπε παμφανόωντα  
δῦναι ἐπειγόμενος· δὴ γάρ μενέαντε νέεσθαι.

Though it is hardly matter for wonder that Nauck should have suggested *ἐπειχόμενος*, and Wansink *ἐελδόμενος*, instead of *ἐπειγόμενος* in l. 30, still it is by no means easy to acquiesce in either change. They are a little too remote from the tradition. At the same time the objections to *δῦναι ἐπειγόμενος* are stronger than might at first sight be supposed. Let us compare the other examples of *ἐπείγεσθαι* followed by an infinitive:—

B 354 τῷ μή τις πρὶν ἐπειγέσθω οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι.

ε 399 μῆχε δ' ἐπειγόμενος ποσὶν ἡπείρου ἐπιβῆναι.

Obviously these give no countenance to the recognised rendering 'eager that the sun should set', 'impatient for the setting', but support only the more simple and natural, though here impossible, version 'hastening to set'. The change of subject exhibited by the infinitive goes rather beyond the usual Homeric license, because the infinitive is here attached not to the whole clause, but to the participle only. See the instances given in Monro's Homeric Grammar § 231: of these Λ 340 ἐγγὺς ἔσταν προφυγεῖν, 'they were near for him to escape', seems to come nearest in point of harshness to the present instance. It is not really quite so violent, for the expression is preceded by *οὐ γάρ οἱ ἵπποι* (i.e. *οὐ δέ οἱ*) and the pronoun may logically be regarded as the subject.

Moreover a further criticism may be made upon this phrase *δῦναι ἐπειγόμενος*. The sense here necessarily assumed is not

only admittedly harsh as we have seen, but in reality and for another reason, inadmissible. *ἐπειγόμενος* with an infinitive, as the examples quoted indicate, is not fairly represented by 'eager' and 'impatient'. In this collocation the word connotes not these feelings alone, but the vigorous action which is prompted by them. It might be rendered 'exerting himself' or in common parlance 'putting his shoulder to the wheel'. It is evident that Odysseus could not by any personal exertion accelerate the chariot of the sun.

Under these circumstances then some slight change may at any rate be considered. I would alter one letter only and read:—

*δῦναι ἐπειγόμενον*

'hastening to his setting'. It may be objected that this is too easy a correction. Why has it not been made before, and why was the vulgate ever preferred? The two questions are practically identical and a satisfactory answer will go far to prove the emendation. In the first place then probably because readers and editors have somehow persuaded themselves that there is a contrast intended between the epithet *παμφανόντα*, 'all-radiant', and the verb *δῦναι*, as if Odysseus began casting impatient glances at the sun, as soon as, or even before, it had attained its meridian height. Hence comes apparently Nauck's unfortunate *δῆν* for *δῆ* in the next clause. Such a persuasion is however quite gratuitous. It exaggerates the excusable impatience of Odysseus and moreover betrays a somewhat inaccurate observation of natural fact. Are we to suppose forsooth, that the sun's light would not be *παμφανόν* after midday? Let all possible emphasis be given to the *παμ-*, yet I venture to say that the very reverse is a good deal nearer the truth; for the fiercer vertical rays of midday are rather less dazzling to the eye than the horizontal, though really weaker, ones of afternoon.

The second and chief cause of the corruption however must have been the somewhat short-sighted notion that *δῆ γὰρ μενέαντε νέοσθαι* is bound to refer solely to the two words that begin the line, instead of to the whole preceding statement.

If this arbitrary limitation be admitted, then undoubtedly *ἐπειγόμενον* must be changed to *ἐπειγόμενος* in spite of ~~any~~ resultant harshness of construction for *δῦναι*. But what ~~need~~ is there for the limitation? In very truth, none whatever. 'For now he was anxious to return home' is the reason for the oft-repeated turning of his head to see the progress of the declining sun. The true reading:—

*δῦναι ἐπειγόμενον*

tells us that the sun was declining, and that the hero ~~was~~ ordinary sound sense did not begin casting these anxious glances until the sun (then in very truth *παρφανόων*) ~~was~~ unmistakably sloping quickly to the west.

\*

v 107    *ἐν δ' ίστοι λίθεοι περιμήκεες, ἔνθα τε νύμφαι φάρε' ὑφαίνοντιν ἀλιπόρφυρα, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι· ἐν δ' ὅδατ' ἀενάοντα.*

*ἀενάοντα* is the reading of the majority of the MSS. A minority have the obviously impossible *ἀεννάοντα*, and a still smaller minority *αιενάοντα*. The word is supposed to mean 'ever-flowing' and to be a compound of *aiéi* or *aiéν* and *νάοντα*. Bekker and Nauck would read *aiὲ νάοντα*, but without the slightest Homeric authority for the form *aiὲ*. About the Boeotian *ῃ* or the Lesbian *ᾳ* the less said the better. To introduce any such forms into Homer would simply be to repeat what has been shown to be the common error of the later Greeks themselves in dealing with the text.

But if neither *αιενάοντα* nor *ἀενάοντα* can possibly be correct, from what can these peculiar developments, these *voces nihili*, have originated? I suggest from a primitive:—

*ἀννάοντα* (i.e. *ἀνα-νάοντα*)

'up-springing', 'bubbling-up'. It is some assistance and some satisfaction to find that *ἀννάοντα* is actually the reading of Flor. Laur. xxxii, 4, a highly respectable authority. A motive for corrupting *ἀννάοντα* into either of the forms mentioned may be found in the desire to present *νάοντα*, as ordinarily, with a

*short* rather than a *long* antepenultimate. Still epic usage would fully justify the license, if license it be, cf. ἡγάσθε beside ἀγάσθε; and in the limits of *νάω* itself, though we have § 292 *κρήνη νάει*, Φ 197 *φρείατα μακρὰ νάουσιν* with short *a*, yet there is also:—

ι 222 *χωρὶς δὲ αὐθὲν ἔρσατο νάον δὲ ὄρφῳ ἀγγεα πάντα.*

The Aristarchean *ναῖον* is perhaps needlessly read by most editors in that passage. Its acceptance is however quite immaterial to the argument. Those who prefer the diphthong may introduce it here also, *ἀνναίοντα*: but it certainly seems desirable to keep *ναῖον*, *habito*, without any superfluous liability to be confused with *νάω*, *fluo*.

Again to the minds of the later Greeks *ἀενάοντα* would recommend itself because of their familiarity with *ἀέναος* which may be found in many of their authors from Hesiod downwards, but not, be it observed, in Homer.

I do not pretend to apply the remedy here advocated to the Hesiodic instance of our participle:—

Hes. Op. 552 *ὅς τε ἀρυσσάμενος ποταμῶν ἀπὸ ἀενάοντων.*

Possibly the true epithet there is *δινηέντων*. But the passage, in which this line stands, is not only a mass of meaningless corruption in the tradition, but no attempted reconstruction has so far produced even a tolerable result. It would suffice to suppose that the participle was borrowed from our line after the encroachment of the traditional impossibility.

In l. 108 the original can hardly have run, as we now have it:—

*φάρε' ὑφαίνουσιν ἀλιπόρφυρα.*

The third foot is defective. As to the idea, fostered by a few easily remediable instances, that ἄλς retained in Homer its primal sibilant, surely it is untenable in face of such combinations as *παρὰ θῖν' ἄλός*, *ἐφ' ἄλός*, *λειμῶνες ἄλός* &c., particularly so, I should think, in a compound like this, a form moreover that actually has an elision before it in the only other passages where it appears, § 53 and 306 *ἡλάκατα στρωφῶσ' ἀλιπόρφυρα.*

I would suggest that we have here a modernisation of some-

thing like *φάρεα λέφθ' ὑφάουσ'* (*ὑφώσατ'*), cf. η 105 *ai δ' ιστοὺς ὑφώσατι*. Doubtless the vulgate defies convincing emendation, but that cannot, and ought not to, protect it from due animadversion.

\*

ν 163

*καὶ ἐρρίζωσεν ἔνερθεν  
χειρὶ καταπρηνεῖ ἐλάσας.*

For the dative singular here I would substitute the plural, which seems to have been lost, despite the resultant injury to the metre, mainly because there was no apparent necessity for the god to use both hands. The restoration will stand thus:—

*χερσὶ καταπρήνεσσ' ἐλάσας.*

But the expression may, I think, repay a little further examination. The plural, we may see, is preserved in this phrase a few lines further on:—

ν 198

*ῳ πεπλήγετο μηρῷ  
χερσὶ καταπρήνεσσ'.*

As also in O 114, 398, where the whole clause is repeated. In these three places however the plural was not in serious danger, for it is well-nigh a physical impossibility to perform the action described with one hand only. *Experto sibi quisque credet.*

We have one more instance of the plural:—

τ 467 *τὴν γρηνὸς χείρεσσι καταπρηνέσσι λαβοῦσα,*

where the metre is just as efficient a protection.

It now remains to look at the other passages, in which the singular appears. I find two only:—

Π 791

*στῇ δ' ὅπιθεν, πλῆξεν δὲ μετάφρενον εὐρέε τ' ὥμω  
χειρὶ καταπρηνεῖ, στρεφεδίνηθεν δέ οἱ ὅσσε.*

Hym. Apoll. 333

*χειρὶ καταπρηνεῖ δ' ἔλασε χθόνα καὶ φάτο μῦθον.*

In the latter passage δ' occupies an impossible position, and the plural *χερσὶ καταπρήνεσσ'* with asyndeton is clearly preferable. We may compare:—

Ι 568 *πολλὰ δὲ καὶ γαῖαν πολυφόρβην χερσὶν ἀλοία.*

The case of II 792 is still more interesting. There it is noteworthy that our phrase is immediately followed by a formidable formation *στρεφεδίνηθεν*, the first and last appearance, as may be imagined, of that remarkable verb. On this unique monstrosity I base the restoration of the plural in this passage also:—

*χερσὶ καταπρήνεσσιν, ἐδίνηθεν δέ οἱ ὅσσε,*

'and his eyes rolled wildly'. It is as if Patroclus had been smitten with sudden epilepsy, one well-known feature of which is the twitching and rolling of the eyes. The concocter of *στρεφεδίνηθεν* doubtless thought to intensify the agony, and has perhaps not been altogether unsuccessful, if we are to regard, not the hero's, but the hearer's feelings.

There is not the slightest difficulty in the use of the plural in any of these passages, though we can easily imagine the would-be improvers of Homer suggesting with profound but mistaken piety, that in the case of Apollo (II 792) and of Poseidon (v 164) the power of the god would be much more marked, if the effect were produced by the stroke of one hand only. That consideration in itself would be enough: but if any additional motive for the displacement of the plural be desired, it may be found, so far as two out of our three passages are concerned, in the later disinclination to elide the *ι* of the dat. except under absolute compulsion. See remarks on § 335 (Journ. Phil. xxvi p. 146 ff.).

\*

v 213 *Ζεύς σφέας τίσαιτο ικετήσιος, ὃς τε καὶ ἄλλους—*

Such is the accepted presentation of this line, certainly not a favourable specimen of the Homeric metre. The objectionable feature is the third foot, presumably, but by courtesy only and not by right, a dactyl.

As far as the evidence of MSS. is concerned, for *σφέας*, which no one adopts, there is absolute unanimity: for *τίσαιτο* there are PH post correcturam M Schol. 1 man.: for *τίσαιθ'* FDUL post correcturam H<sup>2</sup> Et. Flor. Lastly *τίσαιτο* is attributed to Aristarchus, *τισάσθω* or *τισασθαι* to Zenodotus.

The corrections hitherto suggested are *Ζεὺς σφεῖας τίσα-* Barnes, Bekker<sup>2</sup>: *Ζεὺς δέ σφεας τίσαιθ'* Cobet, v. Misc. Cr. p. 331 ff., where the optative, as opposed to the imperative, is conclusively shown to be essential here. Cobet's emendation is in my opinion undoubtedly the better of the two, but the assumed correspondence of *δέ* rather than *ἀλλά* to the Latin *At* in imprecations (*At te dii deaeque perdui* &c. &c.) seems questionable.

I venture to propose as a more likely original:—

*Ζεύς σφεας ἐκτίσαιθ'.*

The earliest writing would be *ad plenum Ζεύς σφεας ἐκτίσαιτο*, of which one syllable must of course disappear. Is it not more reasonable to suppose that the almost otiose preposition has been eliminated, than that a particle *δέ* has been removed from before *σφεας* and left no trace in our tradition? For the omission of a prep. cf. note on λ 584 ad fin., where the hiatus in B 590, π 22, N 356, ν 112 has been dealt with on the principle here applied. *Σφεας* is of course frequently used without synizesis, e.g. π 475 *καὶ σφεας ὠισθην τὸν ἔμμεναι.*

Before quitting the passage I should like to suggest a better emendation of

215 *ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ τὰ χρήματ' ἀριθμήσω καὶ ἴδωμαι*  
than Fick's wild reconstruction *ἀλλ' ἄγ' ἀριθμήσω τὰ χρήματα*  
*ἥδε ἴδωμαι.* I would read:—

*ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ τάδε χρήματ' ἀριθμήσω τε ἴδω τε.*

*χρ* does not necessarily lengthen a preceding short vowel, though it may do so, and for the end of the verse as restored surely no defence is needed.

\*

ν 242      *ἢ τοι μὲν τρηχεῖα καὶ οὐχ ἵππηλατός ἐστιν,*  
*οὐδὲ λίην λυπρή, ἀτὰρ οὐδὲ εὐρεῖα τέτυκται.*

For *οὐδ'* in l. 243 it is only fair to say most of the MSS. have *οὐκ*. Two MSS. and Aristarchus are responsible for *οὐδ'*,

which indeed neither Aristarchus nor any one else would have introduced here out of his own head. No editor prints the easier *οὐκ*, and so the vulgate alone need be considered here. I believe the error of the tradition is in the preceding word *ἀτάρ*, and will state at once what I hold to be the true reading of the line:—

*οὐδὲ λίην λυπρὴ τόσον, οὐδὲ εὐρεῖα τέτυκται.*

Now the necessity for the rejection of the vulgate does not depend upon the question of the validity of *hiatus licitus*. It is not my present intention to select deliberately *θυμοβόρον ἔριδος μένει* as examples of erroneous readings in our accepted text instances of mere *hiatus licitus*, yet I find it neither possible nor desirable out of deference to a mistaken and misleading theory which happens to be in vogue, to leave untouched such a passage as the one here given. If we disregard the *hiatus* then altogether, it is still pretty clear that *ἀτάρ οὐδέ* is here impossible. There is no conceivable, or at any rate no admissible, rendering of these words other than 'but not even'. Now if any one is satisfied with such a sentence as 'neither is it a very poor island, but it is not even wide', because ~~forsooth~~ the tradition or Aristarchus has it so, he will of course champion the cause of the vulgate. But doubtless there will be others who are a little more exacting.

Another consideration telling against *ἀτάρ οὐδέ* is that it only occurs once again in Homer:—

*Ε 485 τύη δ' ἔστηκας, ἀτάρ οὐδὲ ἄλλοισι κελεύεις.*

Even there although the sense 'but not even' is quite appropriate, yet the line is doubtful, and Homeric usage gives strong warrant (*v. Journ. Phil. XXIV p. 275 f.*) for my proposed correction:—

*τύη δ' ἔστηκας ἔκασ, οὐδὲ ἄλλοισι κελεύεις.*

As in that case the appeal was made to Homer himself so the restoration here is immediately derived from the poet's own words elsewhere:—

*ο 405 οὐ τι περιπληθὴς λίην τόσον, ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ μέν,*

The expression there though verbally different is very similar in type to our line (*v* 243) and like it occurs in the description of an island, conf. remarks on Hym. Herm. 199 (Journ. Phil. xxvi p. 254).

The idiomatic combination *λίην τόσον* may also be found:—

δ 371 *νήπιος εἰς, ὡς ξεῖνε, λίην τόσον ηδὲ χαλίφρων,*

and the use of *τόσον* may be further illustrated by that of *τοῦν* with adjectives and adverbs, Ψ 246 (*τύμβον*), *ἀλλ' ἐπιεικέα τοῦν*, γ 321 *ἐσ πέλαγος μέγα τοῦν*, λ 135, ψ 282 (*θάνατος*) *ἀβληχρὸς μάλα τοῖος* (L. *τοῦν*), ο 451 *κερδαλέονδη τοῦν*, α 209 *θαμὰ τοῦν*, δ 776, η 30 *σιγῇ τοῦν*, υ 302 *σαρδάνιον μάλα τοῦν*. Compare also the adjoining (*v* 238) *οὐδέ τι λίην | οὐτω νώνυμός ἐστιν.*

It is worth remarking that *λίην τόσον* where the words are together has escaped interference; but here where they stand separated by the interposed *λυπρή*, *τόσον* has failed to maintain itself. The inference is that proximity of parts is the best safeguard of an entirely obsolete formula, while conversely the integrity of but a slight deviation from a familiar turn of expression is better secured by moderate distance. Compare how *τὸν μέν* has fared in *ε* 266 (Journ. Phil. xxvi p. 145).

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*v* 378 *μνώμενοι ἀντιθέην ἀλοχον καὶ ἔδνα διδόντες.*

The line is also read λ 117 and yet the double occurrence cannot induce me to abandon my suspicions as to its authenticity in its present shape.

The contracted form *μνώμενοι* for *μναόμενοι* is doubtless legitimate. The usage of *μνάομαι* gives it sufficient countenance. At the same time there are several passages in which the uncontracted forms ought to be, and frequently are, restored by editors, e.g. ξ 91 *μνάεσθ'*, φ 326 *μνάοντ'*, π 431 *μνάεαι*. There is no other instance of the participle in Homer, but in Hym. Apoll. 209 *μνωόμενος* (*e* conjectura) is read, and as all the oblique cases of the plural would have to be of this form for admission into the hexameter at all, the tendency

would be rather towards the adoption of the uncontracted form in the nom. case also.

Primarily however suspicion falls upon the adjective ἀντίθένη, and for the annexed reason: ἀντίθεος, although anything but a rare word, is nowhere else applied to Penelope, nor indeed to any woman either in the Iliad or in the Odyssey. This can hardly be an accident.

Accordingly I hazard the conjecture, not palaeographically a violent one, that the original was in both passages:—

μνωόμενοί τε τεὴν ἀλοχον καὶ ἔδνα διδόντες.

The gravamen of the charge against the island-princes really rests upon the pronoun. ἔδνα διδόντες implies no offence in itself: it is a transgression, if it be ἀλόχῳ: it is an exasperating personal insult as well, if it be τεῇ ἀλόχῳ.

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ξ 151 ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐκ αὐτῶς μυθήσομαι, ἀλλὰ σὸν ὅρκῳ,  
ώς νέεται Ὀδυσσεύς.

By all means let us replace the unmetrical ώς νέεται Ὀδυσσεύς by the more idiomatic and—except for the omission of κε, which might easily be lost—palaeographically identical expression:—

ώς κε νέητ' Ὀδυσσεύς.

Metrical suitability is not by any means the sole or main recommendation of this reading. It reinstates a phrase that would naturally, ay, almost inevitably, fall from the lips of an epic poet in this connection, as indeed may be seen from:—

a 85

ὅφρα τάχιστα

νύμφη ἐνπλοκάμῳ εἴπη μημερτέα βουλήν,

νόστον Ὀδυσσῆος ταλασίφρονος, ώς κε νέηται.

205 φράσσεται ώς κε νέηται, ἐπεὶ πολυμήχανός ἐστιν.

From these and similar passages it may fairly be doubted whether the common doctrine, that κε with subjunctive states a fact with less positiveness and emphasis than the future indicative, is altogether to be relied upon.

I find in this same book, and it may as well be noticed at once, another instance of hiatus as bad as the above, or even worse:—

41      *ἡμαὶ, ἀλλοισιν δὲ σύας σιάλους ἀτιτάλλω*

I would suggest as a probable remedy, certainly a tolerable one:—

*ἡμ' ὡδ'*

'I sit as I am', or as Aristarchus would have it,—not quite accurately though, except in such expressions as the present one, '*here I sit*'.

Not very dissimilar is the case of:—

E 684 *Πριαμίδη, μὴ δή με ἔλωρ Δαναοῖσιν ἔάσγες κείσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπάμυνον.*

I have long been of opinion that we have here a result of the disinclination to recognise frankly an ordinary epic elision, and that the true presentation should be:—

*κείσθ' ὡδ' ἀλλ' ἐπάμυνον* 'to lie *here*'.

We may compare the contrasted expression Φ 184 *κεῖσ'* *οὔτως*, 'Lie thou *there*'. *ῳδε* is just as appropriate in the mouth of the wounded Sarpedon as *οὔτως* is to the victorious Achilles.

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ξ 193 *εἴη μὲν τὸν τῶν νῶν ἐπὶ χρόνον ἡμὲν εἴδωδὴ*  
*ἡδὲ μέθυ γλυκερὸν κλισίης ἔντοσθεν ἐοῦσι,*  
*δαίννσθαι ἀκέοντ', ἀλλοι δ' ἐπὶ ἔργον ἐποιεν.*

Odysseus here proposes in the form of a wish, that Eumeus and himself should stay indoors for a time and take food and wine, while the others attend to the work outside. There is a noticeable metrical difficulty in l. 195, the hiatus in *δαίννσθαι ἀκέοντ'*, and as usual it is accompanied by a commensurate failure in the sense.

The intention of Odysseus is that he and his entertainer should have an opportunity of conversing quietly without being incommoded by the presence of witnesses. Accordingly we find

that the two words just quoted are rendered 'to feast or dine quietly', 'in quiet' (Butcher and Lang), 'ruhig, ungestört' (Ameis-Hentze). Unfortunately, I fear, this is not the true sense of *ἀκέοντε*. It is merely a loose and inaccurate rendering designed to suit the special case. The real meaning is 'in silence', 'holding our tongues', the very reverse of what Odysseus should have said. Previously indeed (v. § 110) he had been content to feast 'in silence' and play the part of a listener: now he intends to be the speaker. Such being the case, *ἀκέοντε* might conceivably be taken as an instance of his notorious artfulness, *κλεπτοσύνη*, if only there had been any occasion for its exercise. Artfulness unmotived is merely downright fatuity masquerading under a more specious title.

But is it quite certain that *ἀκέων* means 'without speaking'? Well, perhaps we cannot rely strictly on the derivation from *a* priv. and *χαίνω* 'to open the mouth': for if that were insisted on too rigidly, the hero and his host would get no dinner at all. The usage of Homer however is explicit enough and cannot well be disregarded. Not every passage need be quoted at length. The following will perhaps suffice:

A 34 *βῆ δ' ἀκέων παρὰ θίνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης.*

Clearly Chryses refrains from speech until he reaches a safe distance. So A 512 *ἀλλ' ἀκέων δὴν ἦστο.* No less definite are:—

K 85 *φθέγγεο μηδ' ἀκέων ἐπ' ἔμ' ἔρχεο.*

Δ 22, Θ 459 *ἀκέων ἦν, οὐδέ τι εἶπε.*

(Leg. *μὲν ἀκήν* Journ. Phil. xxiv p. 274.)

ι 427 *τοὺς ἀκέων συνέργον ἐνστρεφέεσσι λύγοισι,*

ν 385 *ἀλλ' ἀκέων πατέρα προσεδέρκετο.*

The other passages in which the word occurs are κ 52, ρ 465, 491, ν 184, φ 89 (?), A 565, 569, λ 142.

One passage remains and is of importance, because the intrusion of *ἀκέοντε* in our line § 195 is probably due to its influence:—

β 310 *'Αντίνο', οὐ πως ἔστιν ὑπερφιάλοισι μεθ' ὑμῖν  
· δαίνυσθαι τ' ἀκέοντα καὶ εὐφραίνεσθαι ἔκηλον.*

The latter line, if I may add another to the proposed restorations, would be more correctly read thus:—

*δαίνυσθαι τ' ἀκέοντ' εὐφραίνεσθαι τε ἔκηλον.*

But the pressing question is the sense in which *ἀκέοντα* is to be taken. Of course if it here means no more than *ἔκηλον*, there would be an end of the matter; but I submit the true meaning is there as elsewhere 'in silence', i.e. 'without protesting aloud against your conduct'. In fact Telemachus proceeds with his protest at once ll. 312—7. The only reasonable conclusion is that *ἀκέωντι πράττω* means 'I do something without uttering a word', not, 'I do something without hearing a word'. This latter is indeed absolutely refuted by § 110 q.v.

But where are we to seek a plausible remedy for the *δαίνυσθαι ἀκέοντ'* of § 195, which now appears to be little better than nonsense? Possibly in the very passage from which the corruption, as I suggest, has been derived, thus:—

*δαίνυσθ' εὐκήλους, ἀλλοι δ' ἐπὶ ἔργον ἔποιεν.*

The incompatibility of *ἀκέοντε* being admitted, there could hardly be a more appropriate term than *εὐκήλους* (or *εὐκήλοις*, for the distinction between the dat. and the acc. is probably later than Homer) or one better avouched by usage in this connection. In proof of this I would appeal to:—

E 805 *δαίνυσθαι μιν ἀνώγε'* ἐνὶ μεγάροισι *ἔκηλον*  
 φ 289 *οὐκ ἀγαπᾶς, δὲ ἔκηλος ὑπερφιάλοισι μεθ' ἡμῖν*  
*δαίνυσαι;*

μ 301 *ἀλλὰ ἔκηλοι*

*ἐσθίετε βράμην* Cf. § 167.

ρ 478 *ἔσθε ἔκηλος, ξεῖνε, καθήμενος.*

\*

§ 202 *έμε δὲ ὡνητὴ τέκε μήτηρ*  
*παλλακίς, ἀλλά με ἵσον ιθαιγενέεσσιν ἐτίμα*  
*Κάστωρ 'Τλακιδης.*

The reading of the Codex Palat. 45 (Heidelberg) *ἴσα* must with the exception of the accent be the true reading:—

*ἴσ' ιθαιγενέεσσιν.*

That *iθαγενής* or *iθαγενής* should have the first syllable short is beyond all probability. Unless indeed one should roundly and hardily declare that *iθύς*, *iθύω*, *iθύνω*, *iθυπτίων*, all of which in innumerable instances invariably have the *i* long, must be referred to a different root and so have nothing to do with the case, there is no escape from the conclusion that the vulgate is erroneous.

But error is seldom solitary in the Homeric poems. *κακὸν κακῷ ἐστήρικται*. One instance generally hath a fellow to keep it in countenance. So here we have to deal with the testimony of the supposed respectable friend, who comes forward to bear out the knave's credit. Here he is:—

Π 586 καὶ ὁ ἔβαλε Σθενέλαον, Ἰθαιμένεος φίλον νιόν.

Now is this evidence of serious weight? There are divers considerations to be set in the opposite scale. The order of the words, I should suggest, may have been tampered with, the original having stood thus:—

καὶ ρ̄ ἔβαλεν, φίλον ὑιοῦ Ιθαιμένεος, Σθενέλαον.

Cf. E 682—3. Others may prefer to write Σθενέλεων on the analogy of Ἀγέλεως, χ 131, 247, where however Ἀγέλαος ἔειπε is probable, and certainly possible. Some may regard Σθενέλαον, which is ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, as the corruption of some now irrecoverable name. Fick is contented with Σθένελον. But whichever of these alternatives be favoured, the known quantity of *iθύς* cannot be disregarded, and on this argument the case for *ισ'* may safely rest.

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ξ 337 τοῖσιν δὲ κακὴ φρεσὶ ἄνδανε βουλή  
ἀμφ' ἐμοὶ, ὅφρ' ἔτι πάγχυ δύνης ἐπὶ πῆμα γενοίμην.

Evidently the words of the final clause have sustained some corruption. The above is the reading of the MSS. and Aristarchus. To Aristophanes is attributed δύη ἐπι πῆμα γένηται. No doubt this last with the needful amelioration of γένοιτο for γένηται—there would still be a little difficulty with πάγχυ—affords a tolerable sense, which is more than can be said of the

vulgate. Still no one would believe for a moment, in face of the evidence, that the phrase patronised by Aristophanes can be the original from which the peculiar reading of the MSS. has been evolved. It is on the contrary merely the readiest simplification of the unintelligible tradition.

I have dwelt upon the condition of the vulgate because it is full of warning not only for those who cling blindly to tradition, but also for those who at the occurrence of the least difficulty promptly scent an interpolation. In every case, before excision is resorted to, it ought to be tolerably certain that the tradition has not failed in some particular from one or other of the numerous causes which have frequently operated to impair the primitive text. In short the possibility of a corruption has a *prior* claim to consideration, and should never be left out of account when we are inclined to athefise. Nor even, if our attempts to effect a reasonable restoration are inadequate and unsatisfactory, does it necessarily follow that the text, being a mere accretion, the work of an inferior mind, is sound and requires none. The corruption may be, possibly it is here, of such a character that a convincing emendation is unattainable.

Now here van Herwerden has proposed an emendation:—

*δύσιν πημαινοίμην*

with the variation:—

*ὅφρ' ἄρα πάγχυ δύσος' ἔτι πημαινοίμην.*

There is however something very unsatisfactory in the way *ἐπί* is here dealt with, either by (1) absolute removal, or (2) substitution of *ἔτι*, which then has to be cut out after *ὅφρα* and replaced by *ἄρα*.

It has occurred to me, and it seems worth suggesting as a step in the right direction, that *δύνης ἐπὶ πῆμα* may have arisen from:—

*δύνης ἐπιβήμεναι*

‘to step into trouble’, a somewhat rare, but quite sufficiently attested form of expression in the Homeric poems. We may refer to B 234 *κακῶν ἐπιβασκέμεν νῆλας Ἀχαιῶν*, χ 424 *ἀναιδείης ἐπέβησαν*, ψ 52 *ἐνφροσύνης ἐπιβήτον*, Θ 285 *ἐνκλείης ἐπιβησον*.

The concluding word presents some difficulty. It must evidently be a verb in the first pers. sing. of the middle voice, and the one that would best meet the requirements of the clause is *ἀροίμην* ‘to win for myself’, v. Journ. Phil. xxvi p. 134. *ἀγοίμην*, though more nearly reproducing the ductus litterarum, does not satisfy the sense. There is however a very fair sense in the reconstruction suggested, while the ironical turn not being of universal appreciation might easily lead to the substitution of the vulgate, which has a superficial air of intelligibility.

I propose then:

*ὅφρ' ἔτι πάγχυ δύνης ἐπιβήμεν' ἀροίμην*

‘in order that I might still be completely successful in getting into trouble’, ‘might yet fully succeed in landing in misery’. That the irony is Homeric may be seen from:—

*Ξ 130 μή πού τις ἐφ' ἔλκει ἔλκος ἄρηται.*

That the infinitive may take the place of a noun in the acc. needs no proof.

As an alternative some might be disposed to take refuge in the possible solution which the usage of *δύη* suggests (v. σ 53, 81) and to read:—

*ὅφρ' ἔτι πάγχυ δύη ἀρημένος εἴην,*

which at least gives a plain and intelligible sense, though how or why this should have been transformed into the vulgate, is not easy to see.

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ξ 402 *ξεῖν', οὐτω γάρ κέν μοι ἐνκλείη τ' ἀρετή τε εἴη ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ἄμα τ' αὐτίκα καὶ μετέπειτα, ὃς σ' ἐπεὶ ἐσ κλισίην ἄγαγον καὶ ξείνια δῶκα, αὐτις δὲ κτείναιμι φίλον τ' ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἐλοίμην πρόφρων κεν δὴ ἐπειτα Δία Κρονίωνα λιτοίμην.*

The true reading of l. 404 can hardly be that given above ὃς σ' —κτείναιμι. For the general use of the relative followed by the pure optative in the Homeric poems v. Monro H. G. § 304—5. It is only the conditional use with which we are now concerned. Of this I will take two ordinary instances by way of illustration:—

δ 222 *ὅς τὸ καταβρόξειν, ἐπεὶ κρητῆρι μιγείη, οὐ κεν ἐφημέριος γε βάλοι κατὰ δάκρυ παρειῶν.*

Let us pause for a moment to restore the integrity of the former of these three lines thus:—

*ὅς τὸ καταβρόξει', ἐπεὶ ἐν κρητῆρι μιγείη.*

The later Greeks would not tolerate, if they could help it, the elision of the -ε of the opt. -ειε; but the preposition with *κρητῆρι* is obligatory here. Perhaps the traditional ἐπήν shows a slight trace of its existence.

I 125 *οὐ κεν ἀλητὸς εἴη ἀνήρ, φ τόσσα γένοιτο.*

It will be seen at once that in these conditional clauses (1) ὃς = εἴ τις and φ = εἴ τινι. In fact in every instance of a conditional relative, except in the example we are considering, the person is indefinite, and being indefinite, as it must be, the relative

can not be in any other person than the third. Hence I infer we are bound to read here:—

εἰ σ', ἐπεὶ ἐστιν ἄγαγον καὶ ξένια δῶκα,  
αὐτὶς δὲ κτείναμι φίλον τ' ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἐλοίμην

In the next line Duentzer proposed the change of *αὐτὶς* to *αὐτός*; to this there are serious objections. It is the actions that are contrasted, not the persons. Not only so, but *αὐτός* 'by mine own hand' is exactly what Odysseus had not contemplated in his proposal. He said specifically and definitely 'set the thralls upon me', l. 399 *δμῶας ἐπιστεύας*. There is also perhaps a further reason for leaving *αὐτὶς* unmolested. In later Greek we have the well-known idiomatic usage of the Participle followed by a finite verb introduced by *εἰτα*, e.g.

Eur. Andr. 756 *μὴ νῦν φυγόντες εἴθ' ἀλῶμεν ὕστερον*.

Now *εἰτα* is not Homeric: but here just as *ἐπεὶ—δῶκα* corresponds to *φυγόντες*, so *αὐτὶς δέ* may be regarded, I think, as the equivalent of *εἰτα*, and if so, is indispensable to the clause.

In line 406 *πρόφρων κεν δὴ ἐπειτα Δία Κρονίωνα λιτοίμην*, a variant of some interest is given by a few MSS. (XD post correcturam H 2 man.)

*Κρονίων' ἀλιτοίμην.*

This reading has been adopted by Cauer as well as by van Leeuwen and da Costa, and therefore deserves remark.

There are two objections fatal I think to its acceptance. First it involves for *πρόφρων* the meaning of 'deliberately' or, as the lawyers have it, 'of malice prepense'. This I say advisedly is far more than can be justified by the usage of *πρόφρων*, *πρόφρασσα* and *προφρονέως*. The literal sense is 'heartily', 'with all one's heart', and 'sincerely', 'honestly', or, if the action involved be of the nature of a favour, 'kindly'. Secondly the pleasant irony which is assumed at the beginning of the speech l. 402 *ἐνκλείη τ' ἀρετή τε* is naturally and properly continued, until the first subject or topic is dropped and a new one introduced by (l. 407) *νῦν δὲ ὥρη δόρποιο*.

§ 411 τὰς μὲν ἄρα ἔρξαν κατὰ ηθεα κοιμηθῆναι,  
κλαγγὴ δ' ἀσπετος ὥρτο συῶν αὐλιζομενάων.

That *ἔρξαν* should be able unassisted to make *position* for the last syllable of *ἄρα* is a doctrine resting on a very slender basis, and might very well be abandoned, if any other more acceptable account of the quantity here given to the first syllable of the second foot were forthcoming.

To this end let us begin by considering the form *ἔρξαν*. Is it Homeric? It seems to me very doubtful, and for this reason: the form *ἔργω* is not epic but late, the only genuine Homeric form of the present being *έέργω*. This conclusion some may be inclined to contest; but it appears to result inevitably from the facts.

The evidence for *έέργω* is as follows: *έέργει* 3 sing. pres. occurs B 617, 845, I 404, N 706, X 121, Ω 544: *έέργουσιν* λ 503: *έέργων* M 201, 219: *έέργομενοι* N 525: *έέργη* Δ 131. All these forms except the last, where no MS. presents, and no editor has gone out of his way to suggest, *ἔργη*, are absolutely protected by the metre.

The case for *ἔργω* (*εἴργω*) rests on the present passage and two others:—

Ψ 72 τῇλέ με εἴργουσι *ψυχαί*, εἰδωλα καμόντων,

where Bentley and others are certainly right in reading τῇλε  
μ' *έέργουσι*.

P 571 ή τε καὶ ἔργομένη μάλα περ χροὸς ἀνδρομέοιο.

Again Bentley's ή καὶ *έέργομένη* is not to be resisted, v. Journ. Phil. xxv p. 44.

The imperfect is always *έέργον*; but no certain inference can be drawn therefrom either way. Neither do I think that the perf. and pluperf. pass. *ἔρχαται*, *ἔρχατο* &c. can be usefully appealed to on this question. *ἔρχθέντ* Φ 282 has many variants and should in all probability be connected with *ἀποέρση* in the line following; but this question cannot now be entered upon at length. Admitting the difficulty of *ἔρχθέντ* still we can only put one interpretation on the above facts; Homer knew *έέργω* only, not *ἔργω*.

Of ἔργαθεν in Λ 437 a word may be said: the line runs:—  
πάντα δ' ἀπὸ πλευρῶν χρόα ἔργαθεν, οὐδε τ' ἔασε.

It is next door to a certainty that the correct reading is χρό'  
ἔργαθεν, as indeed appears in the verse which gives the other  
instance of this word:—

E 147 πλῆξ, ἀπὸ δ' αὐχένος ὠμον ἔέργαθεν ηδ' ἀπὸ νάτου.

The MSS. rightly present συνεέργαθον in Ξ 36. They  
could indeed hardly do otherwise; but we find ἀποέργαθε (-ν)  
Φ 599, φ 221 instead of what is now evident is the only correct  
form ἀπέέργαθε (-ν).

Such is the case against the genuine character of ἔρξαν.  
If my conclusion be valid, as I cannot doubt it is, the aorist  
unaugmented would be ἔερξαν and with an augment we  
should have probably ἤερξαν, though there is only the im-  
perfect analogy of ἤσκε δ 247 and ἤσκομεν Φ 332: but as  
to the possibility of there being an augmented form with the  
first syllable long whether ει- or η-, it is I should imagine  
in view of the facts stated no longer open to dispute. Ac-  
cordingly I submit as the true reading of our line:—

τὰς μὲν ἀρ' ἤερξαν κατὰ ἥθεα κοιμηθῆναι,

It is even possible that τὰς μὲν ἀνήρξαν was the original: but proof of this is now unattainable. In any case the argu-  
ment against ἔρξαν remains the same, and the opinion that  
ἔρξ in κ 435 is from ἔρδω (v. Journ. Phil. xxvii p. 10) is  
entirely confirmed.

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ο 117 ἔργον δ' Ἡφαιστοιο πόρεν δέ ἐ Φαιδιμος ἥρως  
Σιδονίων βασιλεύς, ὅθ' ἐός δόμος ἀμφεκάλυψε  
κεῖσ' ἐμὲ νοστήσαντα τελν δ' ἐθέλω τόδ' ὀπάσσαι.

These lines occur in a passage which is repeated verbatim  
from δ 613—9, so that, whether they be accepted or rejected  
here, there is no question as to their genuine Homeric char-  
acter.

In l. 119, as also in δ 619, κεῖσ' ἐμέ is doubtless right,

though all the MSS. have *κεῖσέ με*, not because we have the authority of Herodianus for *έμε*, but because this deferred position is not legitimate for the enclitic pronoun.

I have a suggestion to offer with regard to *τεῖν*. The form is supposed to be Doric, but can hardly be accepted as Homeric, though it is found in the following passages in addition to those mentioned above:—

Α 201 Ζεύς με πατήρ προέκε τεῖν τάδε μυθήσασθαι.

δ 829 ή νῦν με προέκε τεῖν τάδε μυθήσασθαι.

λ 559 ἀλλὰ Ζεύς Δαναῶν στρατὸν αἰχμητάων  
ἐκπάγλως ἥχθηρε, τεῖν δ' ἐπὶ μοῖραν ἔθηκεν.

The passage from the Iliad debars any easy assumption that this is only a slightly more recent form, restricted to the Odyssey and indicative of the later date of that poem. Not that I mean to imply that *τεῖν* is not a recent form as judged by the standard of Epic. On the contrary, I believe it is in all these instances an intruder, substituted for an archaic and obsolete form by the later Greeks, who naturally preferred to see a word from a living dialect, even if the dialect was not specially a literary one, rather than one that had entirely passed away from the lips and minds of every section of their race.

My suggestion is that *τεῖν* is really representative of an original *τεοῖ*, a parallel form to *ἐμοῖ*, *σοῖ* and *ἔοῖ*. The only support I can allege is the very strong probability that the corresponding archaic genitive of this pronoun is still extant, or at any rate not quite extinct, in the slightly depraved reading of Θ 37 and 468:—

ώς μὴ πάντες δλωνται ὀδυσσαμένοιο τεοῖο.

where *τεοῖο* (cf. *ἐμεῖο*, *σεῖο*, *ἔο*) is restored by Heyne, Bekker, Nauck, Rohde, Platt. The defence of *τεοῖο* as a possessive used like the later *τὸ σόν* = *σύ* is surely an error of judgment on the part of Brugmann. While the plausibility of *τεοῖο* is increased in some degree even by the mere suspicion that a fraternal and complimentary *τεοῖ* may once have held a position in the great Achaean epics, the objection to *τεοῖο*, which led Zenodotus to omit the line from his text, is patent, and

Though *τεῖν* is not in itself similarly incorrect, yet no injustice would, I think, be done to either form by regarding them both as caretakers, pressed into service, who only took possession of their present quarters after the previous tenants were dead and forgotten. To this extent they have been useful in an emergency, and so far, but no further, they are to be justified.

\*

o 218 ἐγκοσμεῖτε τὰ τεύχε, ἑταῖροι, νηὶ μελαίνῃ.

A very slight change here will restore the long-banished original, none the worse for being a little archaic, and remove the Attic use of the article:—

ἐγκοσμείετε τεύχε.

Could it be reasonably expected of the later Greeks that they should refrain from introducing the form *ἐγκοσμεῖτε*, especially when the gap made by so doing could be so easily filled up by the familiar article? They secured two advantages by merely sacrificing an obsolete and therefore unpleasing form. Right gladly, we may imagine, would they proceed to fling away the ugly piece of primordial trachyte and secure the two fine, serviceable birds. Who would blame them?

That *ἐγκοσμείετε* is quite admissible and Homeric may be safely inferred from the list of similar formations on p. 20, *πενθείω*, *νεικείω* &c. It is observable that the diphthong *-eu-* cannot be attributed to ictus-lengthening as it occurs with tolerable frequency in thesis also. It may be merely metrical, or may be explicable in one of the ways stated by Mr Monro H. G. App. C, p. 386: but the fact of its existence is for present purposes the material point.

By the aid of this peculiarity or principle, whichever it be rightly named, of epic speech, further confirmed and ensured by this demonstration of its usefulness, we may recover the true reading in the hitherto puzzling:—

Z 46, Λ 131 ζώγρει, Ἀτρέος νιέ, σὺ δ' ἄξια δέξαι ἄποινα.

Here δέξει ἄποινα Fut. Indic. (Nauck, van Leeuwen and da

Costa, Platt) is undoubtedly right; but something more is required for the full restoration of the original. L and Cs ζώγρεε is not enough: it might even be questioned whether it makes any improvement at all: and their suggestion for Z 46 of ζώγρεέ μ' is sufficiently disproved by the consideration that it is inapplicable to A 131.

There could be little objection to reading in both places:—

ζώγρει', Ἀτρέος νιέ, σὺ δ' ἄξια δέξε' ἄποινα.

i.e. ζώγρεε from the alternative long form ζωγρείω. Thus the requirements of either passage will be satisfied, and an unexceptional verse recovered in place of an erroneous, though but slightly perverted, tradition.

In i 210 the form χεῖ (έχειε), which I proposed on grounds of analogy (Journ. Phil. xxvi p. 276), may be supported by the received text of Hesiod:

Theog. 83 τῷ μὲν ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ γλυκερὴν χείουσιν ἔρσην.

\*

o 245 δν περὶ κῆρι φίλει Ζεύς τ' αἰγίοχος καὶ Ἀπόλλων παντοίην φιλότητ'. οὐδὲ ἵκετο γήραος οὐδόν,—

In the Platonic or Pseudo-Platonic dialogue, Axiochus 368 A, this passage is quoted with one variation from our vulgate given above:—

παντοίη φιλότητ'.

This I am decidedly of opinion is the genuine reading, not because the acc. of the internal object, as it is called, is in any wise incorrect here. It is grammatical enough: but its very admissibility tends to discredit it. The Greeks of the classical or post-classical period would never have attempted to change such an unobjectionable acc. into a dative involving the to-them-scarcely-endurable elision of the iota. Such a change could never hope to win the least degree of popular approval. The reverse process however would doubtless have been hailed with acclamation.

For these two reasons (1) Plato's quotation, (2) the later views on elision, the dat. here possesses claims which cannot

be lightly set aside; and they are reinforced, if not entirely confirmed, by the following passage, in which, though the construction is precisely similar, no elision has endangered the preservation of the dat.:—

Hym. Herm. 574

οὗτῳ Μαιάδος *νῆ* ἄναξ ἐφίλησεν Ἀπόλλων  
παντοίη φιλότητι, χάριν δὲ ἐπέθηκε Κρονίων.

The MSS. have *νέον*, for which I have substituted the necessary *νῆ*. In this point even the most meticulous of editors might venture to disregard the false testimony of tradition.

\*

ο 299 ἐνθεν δέ αὐτὸν τῆσοισιν ἐπιπροέηκε θοῆσιν  
ορμαίνων η κεν θάνατον φύγοι η κεν ἀλώη.

Much ingenuity has been vainly expended in explaining θοῆσιν. 'Sharp' or 'pointed', 'ἀξεῖαι', cf. ἐθώσα (i 327), satisfied the ancients. Ameis-Hentze most unaccountably think the epithet is elucidated by Tac. Ann. III. 1:—oppidum Brundusium, quod naviganti celerrimum fidissimumque adpulsu erat, as if celerrimus or θοός, alone and unqualified, could convey the meaning of celerrimus adpulsu (naviganti). The idea is surely one that needs no serious refutation. Nor yet again is it satisfactory, it is merely a venture in the dark, to write θοῆσιν as a proper name, 'the Pointed islands' (Butcher and Lang). But these so-called explanations may be dismissed without more words. θοῆσιν itself is faulty, nor is the origin of the unfortunate epithet by any means an insoluble mystery after all. There can be little doubt that it is really due to an inopportune reminiscence of:—

P 708 κεῖνον μὲν δὴ τηνσὶν ἐπιπροέηκα θοῆσιν.

For this the verb, ἐπιπροέηκε, is clearly responsible, and so far we seem to stand on safe ground; but what guidance can be found, if we proceed further and attempt to restore the word displaced by θοῆσιν? The missing word can hardly be, as might hastily be supposed, another adjective, or even an

exegetical infinitive, such as may be seen following this very verb P 708 ἐλθεῖν, I 520 λίσσεσθαι. Nothing of the kind would have been in danger of being lost without leaving some trace. Therefore all such conjectures as πέτεσθαι, φέρεσθαι, ἐλαύνειν or θέουσαν (sc. νῆα), ιούσαν &c. may be set aside as improbable.

To meet the conditions of the problem it seems essential that the suggested word should be one, which, while HomERICALLY adequate in construction and sense, would in later times at once strike readers and critics as unfamiliar and difficult, if not unintelligible. Such a word I find in the adverb ὑπερθεν, by the aid of which I would restore the line thus:—

ἐνθεν δ' αὐτοῖσιν ἐπιπροέηκεν ὑπερθεν,

'And thence (from the coast of Elis) he made speed onward to the islands in the main'.

We have here the technical sense of ὑπερθεν, which is conspicuously epic, 'towards the open sea', or as we sometimes call it 'the high sea', that is simply 'seaward'. We have also the use, even more peculiarly epic, of the adverb as attributive to the noun; for νῆσοισι ὑπερθεν is parallel with such expressions as (M 153) λαοῖσιν καθύπερθεν, v. Journ. Phil. xxiv p. 280. The later Greeks would of course desiderate νῆσοισι ταῖς ὑπερθεν. In default they would naturally try—how vainly, we can see for ourselves—to connect ὑπερθεν with the verb ἐπιπροέηκε. What wonder that failing in this they fell back on the intelligible grammar of θοῆσιν from P 708 in spite of the forced and unnatural sense?

I turn now to the meaning assigned to ὑπερθεν as a point of some interest. Strictly parallel is the use of ἄνω in Ω 544 f.

ὅστον Δέσβος ἄνω, Μάκαρος ἔδος, ἐντὸς ἔέργει

(leg. ὕστονς)

καὶ Φρυγίη καθύπερθε καὶ 'Ελλήσποντος ἀπείρων.

Here ἄνω does not mean 'to the north', being taken closely with ἔέργει, as some authorities say (Faesi &c.), but 'seaward', 'towards the main', just as in the next line καθύπερθε means 'towards the interior', 'towards the mainland', the starting point being in both cases the Trojan plain, the shore of the

Troad. As for the construction *Λέσβος ἄνω = ἡ ἄνω Λέσβος*, 'Lesbos out to sea' and *Φρυγίη καθύπερθε = ἡ καθύπερθε Φρυγίη*, 'Phrygia in the interior'; for, as Dr Leaf well observes in his note on this passage, 'To a Greek on the coast a journey either inland or to sea was *up*'.

In γ 170

ἡ καθύπερθε Χίοιο νεοίμεθα παιπαλοέσσης  
νήσου ἔπι Ψυρίης αὐτὴν ἐπ' ἀριστέρ' ἔχοντες  
ἡ ὑπένερθε Χίοιο παρ' ἡνεμόεντα Μίμαντα,

though the adverbs are used as prepositions the sense they bear is practically just the same. *καθύπερθε Χίοιο* means 'seaward of Chios', on that side of Chios which faces the main, i.e. westward: *ὑπένερθε*, the converse of this, is 'landward of Chios', on that side which faces the Asiatic shore, i.e. eastward, as we might say 'under shelter of Chios'.

Again, later on in this book we have:—

ο 403 νῆσός τις Συρίη κικλήσκεται, εἰς που ἀκούεις,  
'Ορτυγίης καθύπερθεν, ὅθι τροπαὶ ἡδλίοιο,

where 'Ορτυγίης καθύπερθεν' means 'in the open sea off Ortygia', whatever view be taken of the two localities mentioned, whether they be Delos and Syros in the Aegaean or, as is probable enough, imaginary lands in the unexplored west.

We see then that no fixed point of the compass is indicated by these terms; for *ἄνω* (Ω 544) refers to an island lying to the south: *καθύπερθε* (Ω 545) to a district situated to the east; *καθύπερθε* and *ὑπένερθε* (γ 170 and 172) indicate respectively a westward and eastward direction; again *καθύπερθε* (ο 404) seems to point to the south, while here (ο 299) if *ὑπέρθε* be right, the point of the compass is WNW.

It may be said in haste that a conjecture, which is unverified and unverifiable, is not worth making. This is not so without exception. The condition of the passage may not only permit but may demand correction. Such is the case here. Of the suggested improvement it is enough to say that it meets all the requirements of the passage. It gives an entirely adequate sense. Its disappearance may be readily explained, and lastly it has helped to expose the futility of one of the

accepted renderings of *ἄνω* in Ω 544, a rendering which *may* possibly suit Herodotus, but cannot well be earlier than *the* use of geographical maps or charts, with which no one has *yet* ventured to hold that Homer was conversant.

In l. 300 for *ἢ κεν ἀλώη* we ought to read *ἢ κεν ἀλοίη* with Cobet (Misc. Crit. p. 376). Palaeographically the difference between the two forms amounts to little or nothing. If however we look to the meaning, the subj. is clearly inadmissible. To suppose that Telemachus thought, or intended to imply, that his capture was the more likely alternative is a very curious misconception of the mental attitude of a youthful hero, and would never occur to either the poet or his hearers, or indeed to any one save a modern grammarian. It would probably be unfair to charge the ancient grammarians with this error. No doubt they fully believed *ἀλώη* (*ἀλφη*) to be an optative.

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ο 425 ἐκ μὲν Σιδῶνος πολυχάλκου εὐχομαι εἶναι  
κούρη δ' εἴμ' Ἀρύβαντος ἐγώ ρυδὸν ἀφνειοῖο.

One can hardly without culpable lenity conceal the disagreeable truth that in l. 425 the fourth foot is defective, being properly a trochee. It is true that the genitive in *-ου* (as also the dative in *-ῷ*), ordinarily short before a vowel, is not infrequently long: but there is an important restriction on its use with the latter quantity. In arsis the phenomenon is common and quite legitimate; in thesis it is seldom found, and the rare occasions, on which it does occur, may all be regarded as erroneous and corrupt. One well-known example, which from its repetition forms a considerable fraction of the whole number extant, will suffice by way of illustration. In Γ 146 we hear of a Trojan named Πάνθοος; the patronymic Πανθοῖδης occurs *passim*. In spite of this the ordinary texts exhibit:—

Ο 522 εῖα Πάνθουν νιὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι δαμῆναι.

Ρ 9 οὐδέ ἄρα Πάνθουν νιὸς ἐνμμελίης ἀμέλησε.

40 Πάνθω ἐν χείρεσσι βάλω καὶ Φρόντιδι δῆ.

59 τοῖον Πάνθουν νιὸν ἐνμμελίην Εὔφορβον.

23 ὅσσον Πάνθουν νιὲς ἐνμμελίαι φρονέουσιν.

Of course there is no instance, and could be no instance, we may be sure, of either gen. or dat. or any other case with the second syllable in arsis. Obviously also the familiar adj. *θοός* is an integral part of the proper name. The tradition however is as here set forth, and it is maintained by most editors, though metre and everything else combine to prove that the trisyllabic dactylic forms *Πανθόου* and *Πανθώρ* alone are genuine.

There is a second point worthy of comment in our line (o 425) touching the word *Σιδῶνος*. It happens somewhat suggestively, that only here does Homer use the name of the town, though he occasionally speaks of the people, *Σιδόνιοι* (δ 84, 618, o 118) and the land, *Σιδονίη* (ν 285, Z 291). Once Ψ 743 we find *Σιδονες* (i).

From the facts stated there is a very strong probability that the original reading here was:—

ἐκ μὲν Σιδονίων πολυχάλκων εὔχομαι εἶναι.

That *πολύχαλκος* is just as applicable to a person as to a place appears from K 315, where Dolon is described as *πολύχρυσος, πολύχαλκος*.

Nor is it less certain that the plural is admissible here, as witness:—

v 192 τέων δὲ εὐχεταὶ εἰναι  
ἀνδρῶν; ποῦ δέ νύ οἱ γενεὴ καὶ πατρὶς ἄρουρα;

where the form and sequence of the question are nearly the same as the statement in our passage.

In the latter of our two lines it seems not unlikely that ἐγώ  
 ἀνδόν—the pronoun is here quite superfluous—represents a  
 compound adverb such as ἐπιρρυδόν, cf. the later ἐπίρροια,  
 ἐπίρροή. Somewhat similar too is ἐπιρρυτον, which apparently  
 is used adverbially by Aeschylus:—

Eumen. 907 καρπόν τε γαίας καὶ βοτῶν ἐπίρρυτον  
ἀστοῖσιν εὐθενοῦντα μὴ κάμνειν χρόνῳ.

Or did Aeschylus write *ἐπιρρυδόν*?

10

π 23 (=ρ 41)

ἢλθει, Τηλέμαχε, γλυκερὸν φάος· οὐ σ' ἔτ' ἐγώ γε  
δψεσθαι ἐφάμην, ἐπεὶ φάεις νητὶ Πιλονδε.

To disarm suspicion I may say at once that beyond the slight improvement already suggested (v. p. 24) εἰσόψεσθ' ἐφάμην,—Naber's οὐκέτ'...δψεσθαι σ' gives a false position to the pronoun—I do not propose to make any change whatever; but I am by no means satisfied with, and I challenge the correctness of, the recognised rendering of the clause that begins my quotation, ἢλθει, Τηλέμαχε, γλυκερὸν φάος, 'thou art come, Telemachus, sweet light of mine eyes' Butcher and Lang, 'ut Latine dicitur: mea lux, cf. Cic. ad Fam. xiv. 2' Ebeling's Lex. Hom., 'mein süßes Leben' Voss, 'like the Oriental 'light of my life', 'light of my eyes' Liddell and Scott.

Whether φάος ever became in later Greek a mere term of endearment for lovers, I will not attempt to decide. It is quite possible: it is even probable, though the instances in Liddell and Scott do not prove that it was so. But I utterly deny that there is any adequate reason for believing that Homer, who was no Oriental, either initiated or followed this interesting practice.

For the Homeric meaning of φάος outside the strictly literal sense of 'light' and the special φάεα = 'eyes', we have the evidence of the following passages:—

Ζ 6 Τρώων ῥῆξε φάλαγγα, φάος δ' ἐτάροισιν ἔθηκεν.

Π 95 ἀλλὰ πάλιν τρωπᾶσθαι, ἐπὴν φάος ἐν νήεσσι θήγει.

Τ 95 ἢ οἱ πρόσθεν ιοῦσα τίθει φάος,

Φ 538 αἱ δὲ πετασθεῖσαι τεῦχαν φάος.

Ο 741 τῶ ἐν χερσὶ φόως, οὐ μειλιχίγ πολέμοιο.

(Probably τῶ φάος ἐν χείρεσσ' κτλ.)

Θ 282 = Λ 797

βάλλ' οῦτως, αἱ κέν τι φάος Δαναοῖσι γένηται.

Ρ 615 καὶ τῷ μὲν φάος ἢλθειν, ἅμυνε δὲ νηλεεῖς ἡμαρ.

Σ 102 οὐδέ τι Πατρόκλῳ γενόμην φάος οὐδ' ἐτάροισι.

where the meaning is 'victory', 'success', 'salvation', 'rescue'. In the last three instances the word is applied to a person; but

this makes little or no difference in the sense, 'the light of victory' in contrast to 'the darkness of defeat'. Hence in our two passages *γλυκερὸν φάος*, even as a vocative, must mean, I submit, not 'sweet darling' but 'welcome rescuer', 'dear deliverer'.

But is *γλυκερὸν φάος* a vocative? The possibility is undeniable; and indeed P 615, quoted above, rather supports this view, but is hardly decisive. I would suggest that *γ. φ.* is the accusative of the internal object after *ἡλθες*, as in the familiar:—

'Ελένην κτάνωμεν Μενελέῳ λύπην πικράν.

The rendering would then be:—'thou art come, Telemachus,—a welcome deliverance, a sweet relief'. In other words 'thy coming, Telemachus, is a welcome relief'. This form of expression is thoroughly Homeric. In Γ 46—51 the conduct of Paris is described and finally characterised thus:—

πατρί τε σῷ μέγα πῆμα πόλητ τε παντί τε δήμῳ,  
δυσμενέσιν μὲν χάρμα, κατηφείην δὲ σοὶ αὐτῷ.

Ω 735 ρίψει χειρὸς ἐλῶν ἀπὸ πύργου, λυγρὸν δλεθρον.

Compare also ζ 184—5. In either case *φάος* here is not a namby-pamby term of endearment as is commonly supposed, but retains the full vigour and vitality of its ordinary sense, and this is my main contention.

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π 107                    ή τάδε γ' αἰὲν ἀεικέα ἔργ' ὄρασθαι,  
ξείνους τε στυφελιζομένους δμφάς τε γυναικας  
ρυστάζοντας δεικελίως κατὰ δώματα καλά,  
καὶ οἶνον διαφυσσόμενον καὶ σῖτον ἔδοντας  
μὰψ αὐτῶς ἀτέλεστον ἀνημύστῳ ἐπὶ ἔργῳ.

There is a curious variation, more striking perhaps because it is symmetrical, in this series of participles *στυφελιζομένους*, *ρυστάζοντας*, *διαφυσσόμενον*, *ἔδοντας*, an alternation of passive and active. Change of subject is Homeric enough, but this fluctuation seems to transgress the limits of allowable license, especially when simply by changing *διαφυσσόμενον* to *δια-*

*φυσισομένους* we might take all the participles as transitive with one and the same subject, thus rendering the construction incomparably more natural with very little sacrifice of tradition.

I have quoted the passage however mainly to draw attention to *ἀτέλεστον* in the last line. It must, I think, be regarded grammatically as an adjective agreeing with *σῖτον*, though in sense it will be adverbial. The meaning, if we follow Ameis-Hentze (endlos, ohne Ende), is 'without end or measure', 'without stint'. This rendering I venture to dispute: *ἀτέλεστος* cannot properly carry such a sense. It means 'unconsummated', 'imperfect', 'unsuccessful', v. Δ 26, § 273, θ 571.

If again we adopt as the meaning here, 'fruitlessly', 'to no good end', the result is still not much more satisfactory. The doubt as to the legitimacy of the translation is not entirely removed, and *ἀτέλεστον*, so understood, merely anticipates the following phrase *ἀνηνύστω ἐπὶ ἔργῳ*. Under such circumstances I see no escape from the conclusion of Thiersch 'Dieser Vers ist einzig schlecht—endigt sich sehr tautologisch'.

I believe however it might be redeemed by a single change:—

*μᾶλψ αὐτῶς ἀτελέστῳ ἀνηνύστῳ ἐπὶ ἔργῳ.*

Even if *ἀτελέστῳ* and *ἀνηνύστῳ* bear an identical meaning 'impracticable', 'unattainable', still the strengthening or enforcing of an idea by such iteration is a very different thing from the addition of a long clause which merely explains a word in itself sufficient: but probably there is after all no such tautology about the adjectives as is here supposed. Without any undue stretching of the Homeric usage of verbal adjectives I think we may render the proposed reading:—'while their real object remains *unattained* and *unattainable*', 'engaged in a business *that has failed and is doomed to failure*'.

In this light the line is far from being a bad one (schlecht). The expression rises by a fitting gradation, forming a very effective and telling climax.

π 181 ἀλλοῖος μοι, ξεῖνε, φάνης νέον ἡὲ πάροιθεν.

Although it is obvious that Telemachus means only to remark that the stranger (Odysseus) is considerably altered in appearance from what he was before,—we have just been told that Athene touched him with her golden wand—yet the extraction of this simple sense from the text is a matter of serious difficulty. We are asked to render thus: 'Thou seemest just now, stranger, a man other than before'. Messrs Butcher and Lang have it 'Even now, stranger, thou art other in my sight than that thou wert a moment since'.

The difficulty is that *νέον φάνης* is not practically different from *πάροιθεν φάνης* at all. While both expressions necessarily refer to a time now past, *νέον* conveys the additional information that this time has only just gone by, so that *νέον φάνης* means 'you appeared just now', 'a little while ago', 'νεωστὶ'. If there were any doubt of this, it should be set at rest by the lines we meet a little farther on:—

199 ἡ γάρ τοι νέον ἡσθα γέρων καὶ ἀεικέα ἔσσο·

νῦν δὲ θεοῖσι ἔοικας, οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν.

where *νέον ἡσθα* is properly contrasted with *νῦν ἔοικας*, and where moreover *νέον ἡσθα* is not materially different from *πάρος* or *πάροιθεν ἡσθα*.

Hence we find Prof. Hartman suggesting, with some approbation from van Leeuwen and da Costa, that we should read:—

*νέον ἡδὲ πάροιθεν*

'modo et antea' 'lately and previously'. No doubt this is sense, a little loose perhaps: it ought at least to be 'previously and lately': but it is certainly not poetry.

It is surprising that *φάνης νῦν* has not been suggested. Perhaps it has. It could not however be regarded as a real solution of the difficulty: for we should then have the aor. *φάνης* used firstly as the aor. which refers idiomatically to the present as just past, e.g. Arist. Knights 696

*ἡσθην ἀπειλαῖς, ἐγέλασα ψολοκομπίαις,*

and secondly as an ordinary past tense with *πάροιθεν*. Singly

and apart these usages may be unexceptionable, but they cannot, I submit, be thus combined and confused in one sentence.

I think it is clear that the error is in the little suspected *πάροιθεν*, for which I once fancied *περ ἡδη* might be right; but now I see that the true solution of the problem is slightly different. The line, I assume, originally stood thus:—

ἀλλοιός μοι, ξεῖνε, φάνης νέον ἡέ περ ὠδε.

Palaeographically ΠΕΡΟΔΕ might easily be misread into ΠΑΡΟΙΘΕ, and certainly to the later Greeks ἡέ περ ὠδε would hardly seem a natural or readily intelligible expression for ἡ νῦν; but yet it is not difficult to see that this is the Homeric meaning of the formula. I find the following instances:—

B 258 εἴ κ' ἔτι σ' ἀφραίνοντα κιχήσομαι, ὡς νύ περ ὠδε.  
 Ω 398 ἀφνειός μὲν ὁ γ' ἔστι, γέρων δὲ δὴ ὡς σύ περ ὠδε.  
 Hym. Dem. 116

τηλίκαι, ὡς σύ περ ὠδε, καὶ ὀπλότεραι γεγάασιν.

Evidently the present corruption for all its facility could never have held its ground, or indeed have gained a footing at all, except for the use of the aor. above mentioned, which is also Homeric to a certain extent, but v. Mr Monro H. G. § 78. The meaning however of φάνης νέον is absolutely and irrevocably determined by νέον ἡσθα.

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π 217 φῆναι ἡ αὐγυπιοὶ γαμψώνυχες, οἰσί τε τέκνα  
 ἀγρόται ἔξειλοντο πάρος πετεηνὰ γενέσθαι.

If we consider this passage in connection with:—

λ 293 δεσμοί τ' ἀργαλέοι καὶ βουκόλοι ἀγροιῶται.

φ 85 νήπιοι ἀγροιῶται, ἐφημέρια φρονέοντες

Λ 549 κύνες τε καὶ ἀνέρες ἀγροιῶται.=Ο 272

676 καὸδ δ' ἔπεσεν, λαὸι δὲ περίτρεσαν ἀγροιῶται.

we cannot fail to notice the unique ἀγρόται, a form which evidently does not belong to the same linguistic period as the synonymous ἀγροιῶται. Two courses are now open.

Either we may regard the presence of *ἀγρόται* in π 218 as proof positive that this passage could not have been written before *ἀγρότης* had come into use instead of the earlier *ἀγροιώτης*. This is the usual inference and is commonly accepted as irrefutable. Payne Knight (Prolegom. § 44) cites this very *ἀγρότης* as an example of those words which ‘Atticam istam elegantiam et concinnitatem, quae majestatem veteris linguae paullatim subruebat, jamdudum obreptantem produnt.’ And so the way is opened for a vapid flood of argument intended to demonstrate the composite and unreal character of Homer’s language.

On the other hand it may be said, and I see no effective reply to the allegation, that the word *ἀγρότης* here cannot be trusted as a basis for any conclusions respecting the original date of the poems: for it may be, and very probably is, a mere modernisation, a substitution of the familiar for the obsolete made in later times, because the passage happened to lend itself easily to such a substitution. On this hypothesis we may assume that the original ran:

*ἀγροιώται ἔλοντο.*

Now the later Greeks used *ἀγρόται* in their daily speech and also—this may be noted as a minor point—*ἔλοντο* rather than *ἔλοντο*. By merely adding the little preposition *ἐκ*, making a compound verb, which indeed suits the later idiom better than the simple one, they secured the double advantage of *ἀγρόται ἔξελοντο*. What harm that they could realise or appreciate is done to Homer by the substitution? Would any Greek of the age of Pericles have preferred that his children in their repetition-lessons should commit to memory and say *ἀγροιώται ἔλοντο* rather than *ἀγρόται ἔξελοντο*? Not one. Attica ista elegantia et concinnitas facillime punctum omne tulissent.

The perception of the possibility of this modification, a possibility rising in fact to a very high level of probability, is not to be treated as if it were an impression or conviction that the later Greeks disregarded all limits of moderation and reason in the modernisation of their ancient epic heirlooms. The very

word we are now considering, *ἀγροιῶται*, is an absolute ~~priority~~<sup>priority</sup>, that they did not. We see that in four instances out of ~~five~~<sup>four</sup> the archaic form is maintained unimpaired, and if it ~~was~~<sup>was</sup> sacrificed in π 218, the reason for its abandonment is ~~as~~<sup>as</sup> plainly discernible in the one case, as the cause of its retention in the other four.

\*

π 290 = τ 9 ἀλλὰ *κατήκισται*, ὅσσον πυρὸς ἵκετ' ἀντμῆ.

The verb *κατήκισται* presents another patent modernisation, quite on a par with the one just noticed, and an example of the so-called legitimate hiatus to boot. Fortunately *ἀεικίζω* is well established as the only legitimate Homeric form of the simple verb, Π 545, Τ 26 *ἀεικίσσωσι*, Χ 256 *ἀεικιῶ* (leg. *ἀεικίσσωμ*), Ω 22, 54 *ἀεικίζεν* (-ει), Π 559 *ἀεικισσαίμεθ*, Χ 404 *ἀεικίσσασθαι*, not to mention the cognate and confirmatory *ἀεικῆς*, *ἀεικέλιος*, *ἀεικείη*.

This is moreover one of the cases in which we are compelled to recognise what is called the medial digamma, *ἀεικίζω*, so that the contraction given in the vulgate is for Homer doubly impossible. Consequently there is hardly room for doubt that the true reading here is:—

ἀλλὰ *κατηείκισται*, ὅσον πυρὸς ἵκετ' ἀντμῆ.

It is easy to see that the lack of a separate sign to distinguish *η* from *ε* in the earlier writing would much facilitate the honest delusion that *κατήκισται* was the Homeric form. The difference between the forms is only that between *εει* and *ει*.

I have to resign the priority in the making of this correction to van Herwerden, and therefore I may without interested motives, as I am not the first in the field, declare my conviction not only that the case against the accepted form *κατήκισται* is unanswerable, but that Herwerden's restoration of the original is as assuredly right, as if it were vouched for by every extant MS.

The change of *ὅσσον* to *ὅσον* can hardly, I should imagine, offend even the most susceptible.

\*

π 418 'Αντίνο', ὑβριν ἔχων, κακομήχανε, καὶ δέ σέ φασιν  
ἐν δήμῳ 'Ιθάκης μεθ' ὄμηλικας ἔμμεν ἄριστον  
βουλῆ καὶ μύθοισιν

Can we rightly assign to the phrase *μεθ' ὄμηλικας* the sense here obviously required, 'among thy coevals', 'amidst thy peers'? If we could stringently limit our range of view to this passage and one other:—

I 53 Τυδείδη, πέρι μὲν πολέμῳ ἔνι καρτερός ἐσσι,  
καὶ βουλῆ μετὰ πάντας ὄμηλικας ἔπλευ ἄριστος.

we might possibly rest in a state of stolid contentment. But the moment we audaciously proceed per vetitum et nefas to take into consideration the ordinary usage of *μετά* with the acc., our satisfaction—alas!—is at an end for ever.

Now *μετά* with acc. frequently occurs in Homer after a verb of motion with the meaning (1) 'to join the company of', (2) 'in Pursuit of', 'in quest of', e.g. (1) Α 222 *μετὰ δαίμονας ἄλλους* (βεβήκει), π 85, (2) ξ 133 *ἡὲ μετ' ἀγροτέρας ἐλάφους* (έρχεται), Δ 292 *βῆ δὲ μετ' ἄλλους*, Λ 700. Then (3) it means merely 'after', 'next to' without the necessity for any verb of motion, Φ 190 *ἐκ δ' αὐτὸς μετὰ τοὺς δόμουν ἥλυθε*, λ 260 *τὴν δὲ μετ'* (Αντιόπην ἵδον &c. &c.

From this last usage comes directly its employment in certain sentences closely analogous to, and yet oddly different from, the peculiar pair under examination:—

B 674 Νιρεύς, ὃς κάλλιστος ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἰλιον ἥλθεν  
τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλεῖωνα.

I 140 = 282

αἵ κε μετ' Ἀργείην Ἐλένην κάλλισται ἔωσιν.

M 103 οἱ γάρ οἱ εἴσαντο διακριδὸν εἶναι ἄριστοι  
τῶν ἄλλων μετά γ' αὐτόν.

Here *γε* probably represents an original *έτε*.

θ 117 Ναυβολίδης, ὃς ἄριστος ἔην εἰδός τε δέμας τε  
πάντων Φαιήκων μετ' ἀμύμονα Λαοδάμαντα.

λ 522 κεῖνον δὴ κάλλιστον ἵδον μετὰ Μέμνονα δῖον  
(κάλλιστον δὴ τόν γε ἵδον Cobet.)

Add λ 470, 551, ω 18.

It appears then that *μετά* with acc., especially after superlatives *ἄριστος* &c., has a very distinct and definite meaning, practically 'with the exception of', more literally 'in succession to', 'ranking next to'. If so,—and the quoted passages seem to place the matter beyond all doubt—then in π 419 popular rumour and in I 54 the aged Nestor paid Antinous and Tydides respectively a very ambiguous, or rather left-handed, compliment by classing them as 'best after (every one of) their compeers'.

Recognising the absurdity of this, Nauck has suggested, and van Leeuwen and da Costa have accepted, the correction:—

*καθ' ὁμηλίκας,*

but I think the difficulty may be surmounted and the corruption accounted for much more easily, if we suppose that the original was in the first case:—

*μεθ' ὁμηλίκεσ' ἔμμεν ἄριστον,*

and in the second:—

*μετὰ πάντεσ' ὁμηλίκεσ' ἐπλε' ἄριστος.*

The dative, which after *μετά* is epic, not Attic, affords the required meaning, 'amid thy compeers'. We have already seen the proper use of *μετά* with acc. after a superlative, and the construction with the dat., the superlative being still present, may now be illustrated to confirm the emendation. We have:—

*A 516 μετὰ πᾶσιν ἀτιμοτάτη θεός εἰμι,*

where no misguided remodeler has introduced *μετὰ πάντας*, which would be admissible if π 419 and I 54 be right: but no one would like, I fancy, to have to defend such a change.

*II 570 βλῆτο γὰρ οὐ τι κάκιστος ἀνὴρ μετὰ Μυρμιδόνεστιν.  
Ψ 476 οὐτε νεώτατος ἔστι μετ' Ἀργείοισι τοσοῦτον.*

In these two lines also the datives have been left undisturbed for a very good and obvious reason.

For similar instances of the archaic form of the dat. plur. in

expelled in favour of the acc. I may refer to *Journ. Phil.* XXVI pp. 146—8, *conf. v* 164 (Note).

If Nauck's remedy, *κατά*, be wanted anywhere, let it be applied to B 143 where *μετὰ πληθὺν* is certainly objectionable, more objectionable than ever if the argument here advanced be accepted; for nothing is then left to keep it in countenance. But really little reliance can be placed upon the genuineness of B 143 at all: it was athetised by Aristarchus and probably rightly. Again *καθ' ὅμιλον* (van Leeuwen and da Costa) may be right in P 149, but the traditional *μεθ' ὅμιλον* is not quite indefensible after *σαώσειας*, and may well be left in undisturbed possession.

T. L. AGAR.

POSTSCRIPT.

My attention has been called to the fact that in *v* 30 *ἐπειγόμενον* is the reading of at least one MS., No. 5 in the Imperial Library, Vienna, v. La Roche, Hayman *ad loc.* This MS. was collated along with the other Viennese MSS. by F. C. Alter in 1794. It was regarded as of some importance by Heyne: but van Leeuwen (*Mnemosyne* 1889) declares it is a mere copy of Palatinus 45, and more recently it has been entirely ignored by Ludwich (1891) in his *apparatus criticus*. La Roche (Proleg. *ad Odyss.*) is very severe upon it (L):—“vitis cuiusvis generis est depravatus et nullius pretii.” However he concludes his censure with the significant words:—“tamen hic quoque codex habet nonnulla, quae ad emendandam Odysseam non sint inutilia.” I have to thank it for raising my conjecture to the rank of a variant.

T. L. AGAR.

## EURIPIDEA.

ELECTR. 447, 8.

Νυμφαῖς σκοπιὰς  
κόρας μάτευσ' ἐνθα πατήρ.

Perhaps

Νυμφαῖς σκοπιωροὺς  
ματεῦσ', ἐνθα πατήρ.

And in the strophe, 437, 8.

εἰειλισσόμενος πορεύ-  
ων τὸν τᾶς Θέτιδος.

νυμφαῖς σκοπιωροὺς, sc. νάπας 'perque Pelion perque sacra  
nemora in radicibus Ossae unde nymphae speculantur, quaerunt  
locum, ubi Chiron Achillem educabat.'

ματεῦσ' = ματέουσι, another form of ματεύειν. Theocr. xxix.  
15, ἐξ ἑτέρου δ' ἑτέρον μάτεις (so Ahrens, μάτης Hermann).  
Hesych. ματεῦ ζητεῖ. The use of ματεύειν in Theocr. xxi. 65 of  
searching a place εἰ δ' ὑπαρ, οὐ κνώσσων τὸν τὰ χωρία ταῦτα  
ματεύσεις is some support for ματεῦσ' in the passage of the  
Electra.

Heracl. 949.

δος καὶ παρ' αἴδην ζῶντά νιν τκατήγαγες,  
ὑδρας λέοντας τ' ἐξαπολλύναι λέγων  
ἔπεμπες.

perhaps κάτωθε γῆς.

H. F. 1003.

Πάλλας κραδαίνουσ' ἔγχος ἐπὶ λόφῳ κέαρ.

Barnes conj. ἐπίλογχον χέρα: possibly ἐπιλόγχῳ χερὶ. The

dj. is not an otiose addition: the hand is represented as rasping the *shaft* of the spear.

594      *ἰδοὺ τί δεσμοῖς ναῦς ὅπως ὀρμισμένος*  
*πρὸς ἡμιθραύστῳ λαῖνῳ τειχίσματι*  
*ἢ μὲν νεκροῖσι γείτονας θάκους ἔχων.*

This should be not *ἡμαῖ*, but *ἡμην*. ‘Why was I ever seated?’ ‘what could bring me to seat myself?’

51      *ἢ σάρκα τήνδε τὴν ἐμὴν ἐμπρήσας πυρὶ*  
*δύσκλειαν ἢ μένει μ' ἀπώσομαι βίου;*

Possibly

*ἢ σάρκα τὴν ἐμηνεν ἐμπρήσας πυρὶ*

*corpus quod in furias egit (sc. Iuno) incendam et sic uitae*  
*deucus quod me manet auertam?*

*ἐμηνεν* sc. "Hρα.

Suppl. 247.

*χαίρων ἵθι μὴ γὰρ βεβούλευσαι καλῶς*  
*αὐτὸς πιέζειν τὴν τύχην ἡμᾶς λίαν.*

Perhaps

*χαίρων ἵθ'· οἷμαι δ' εἰ βεβούλευσαι καλῶς*  
*αὐτός, πιέζειν τὴν τύχην ἡμᾶς λίαν.*

Kirchhoff's MS. C has *ἵθι δὴ μὴ γὰρ*, pointing perhaps to  
*δὴ*  
*ἵθι μὴ γάρ.*

333      *πικροὺς ἐσεῖδες γάμους*  
*πικρὰν δὲ Φοίβου φάτιν*  
*ἔγημας.*

I suggest *ἔφηνας*.

338      *μέλλων σ' ἐρωτᾶν, ἥνικ' ἐξήντλεις κακά,*  
*γόους ἀφήσω, τοὺς ἐκεῖ μὲν ἐκλιπὼν*  
*τές τὰ σὰ μύθους.*

Probably *ἐκεῖσε*.

399      *πολλοὺς δ' ἐραστὰς κάποδε θηλειῶν τόσας*  
*ἔχων ἐφρούρει μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτάνειν.*

Perhaps *ἴσως*. From Wecklein's new edition I see that *ἴσας* has already been conjectured by Canter.

1013      *τύχα δέ μοι*  
*ξυνάπτει ποδὸς τάλλα τῆς*  
*εὐκλείας χάριν ἐνθεν ὄρ-*  
*μάσω τᾶσδ' ἀπὸ πέτρας.*

For *ἀλλὰ τῆς* write *ἀλλαγῆς* 'the shiftings of my foot,' and cf. Elect. 103 *ἔξω τρίβου τοῦδ' ἵχνος ἀλλαξάμεθα.*

1025      *ἴτω φῶς γάμοι τε.*  
*τείθε τινὲς εὐναὶ*  
*δικαίων ὑμεναίων ἐν Ἀργεί*  
*φανῶσιν τέκνοισιν.*

I have little doubt that the *ε* of *εἴθε* represents *αι*, and that the word which preceded *εὐναὶ* was *αἴτινες*. If this is so, it seems possible that *εἴθ* may be *ἴθ* (*ἴτε*) and that the change from 2nd to 3rd person in *ἴθ* *αἴτινες φανῶσι* may be like similar cases elsewhere. Bacch. 346 *στειχέτω τις ὡς τάχος,* 'Ελθὼν δὲ θάκους τούσδ' *ἴν'* *οἰωνοσκοπεῖ,* Μοχλοῖς *τριαίνου* *κανάτρεφον* *ἔμπαλιν.* A much more surprising change of persons is quoted by Kühner (ed. Blass, *Gramm. d. Gr. Spr.* 370) from Isaeus, p. 84 *ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐγώ καὶ Στράτιος καὶ Στρατοκῆς παρεσκευάζοντο ἄπαντες.*

I. A. 1207.

*εὶ δ' εῦ λέλεκται τυωι μὴ δή γε κτάνης*  
*τὴν σήν τε κάμην παῖδα καὶ σώφρων ἔσει.*

Possibly *γνῶθι μηδὲ ἔτι κτάνης.*

I. T. 193.

*ἀλλάξας δ' ἔξ ἔδρας*  
*ιερὸν ὅμμ' αὐγᾶς*  
*ἄλιος.*

After *αὐγᾶς* I suspect *ἀνταύγασ'* has fallen out: *mutatoque est* *sede sua sacro adspectu luminis contrario lumine refulsit sol.*

226      *ξείνων αἰμάσσονσ'* *ἄταν βωμούς.*

As *αἰμόρραντον* occurs in the preceding verse, no compound

of *alma* can be thought probable. I suggest *μάσσουσ'* (and *βωμοῖς* as Heath conj.). From kneading it is no long step to *smearing*.

**311** ἀφρόν τ' ἀπέψα.

Wecklein prints ἀπέψη. May not the form be retained? *Hesych.* ἀπέψα: ἀπέμασσεν.

**343** τὰ δ' ἐνθάδ' ἡμεῖς τοῖα φροντιούμεθα.

*οἰδα* is a possible emendation.

**695—7** σωθεὶς δὲ παιδας ἐξ ἐμῆς ὁμοσπόρου  
κτησάμενος, ἦν ἔδωκά σοι δάμαρτ' ἔχειν,  
ὄνομά τ' ἐμοῦ γένοιτ' ἄν, οὐδ' ἄπαις δόμος  
πατρῷος οὐμὸς ἐξαλειφθείη ποτ' ἄν.

Perhaps γένοιτ' ἄν, 'you will become the preserver of my name.'

**941** sqq.

μεταδρομαῖς Ἐρινύων  
ἡλαυνόμεσθα φυγάδες, ἔστ' ἐμὸν πόδα  
εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας δή γ' ἐπεμψε Λοξίας  
δίκην παρασχεῖν ταῖς ἀνωγύμοις θεαῖς.

I think δῆθ' for δῆθεν may be right. El. 268 ὡς δῆθε  
παιδας μὴ τέκους πουνάτορας. There is a sneer in Orestes' words: he implies that Apollo's sending him to stand his trial at Athens produced only a very partial mitigation of his sufferings: for, as he states in 970, those of the Erinyes who voted against him continued to hound him till he came to Delphi.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

## HIATUS IN PLAUTUS.

BEFORE the time of Ritschl most editors of Plautus felt themselves bound to accept almost every instance of Hiatus that was forced upon them by the 'consensus' of the then available MSS. In all the MSS., for example, *Trin.* 18, an Iambic Senarius, appeared in this form:

huic nomen Graece est Thensauro fabulae,

with Hiatus between *Graece* and *est*; the second hemistich of *Pseud.* 375, a Trochaic Septenarius, in this form:

facere officium meum,

with Hiatus between *facere* and *officium*. And the acceptance of these 'versus hiantes' was justified by an appeal to Cicero's words in the *Orator* (XLV. 152): sed Graeci viderint; nobis, ne si cupiamus quidem, distrahere voces conceditur. Indicant orationes illae ipsae horridulae Catonis, indicant omnes poetae praeter eos qui, ut versum facerent (*i.e.* 'through metrical exigencies'), saepe hiabant, ut Naevius:

uos, quí | accolitis Hístrum fluum atque ágidam,  
et ibidem :

quam númerum uobis Graí | atque bárbari,  
at Ennius semel (saepe *edd.*):

Scipiō | inuicte,  
et quidem nos :

hoc motu radiantis Etesiač | in vada ponti.

Hoc idem nostri saepius non tulissent, quod Graeci laudare etiam solent.

Ritschl's production of the evidence of the Ambrosian Palimpsest (*A*) changed the aspect of the case. It was found that the 'consensus' of the MSS. in these two lines, and in others of the kind, was merely the result of their derivation from a common original (*P*), a MS. probably of Charlemagne's time or later. The scribe of *P*, or of some archetype of *P*, had transposed the words *nomen* and *Graece* in *Trin.* 18 and had omitted the Pronoun *me* in *Pseud.* 375. In the fourth century Palimpsest, which not merely precedes *P* in age by many centuries but also exhibits a different recension or ancient edition of the text, these lines appear in their true form :

huic Graece nomen est Thensauro fabulæ,

and

facere me officium meum.

Now transposition of words is one of the commonest errors of scribes ; and the omission of small words, especially such as are not necessary to the sense of the sentence, is an error to which scribes of Plautus' Comedies are peculiarly liable, for this comedian delights in the otiose use of Pronouns (*ego, tu, hic*, etc.), Particles (*pol, qui*, etc.) and the like. How then is an editor to decide in the numerous passages for which the evidence of the fragmentary Palimpsest is not available, whether a 'versus hians' retains the 'ipsa verba' of Plautus or owes its abnormal form to a mere scribal error ? This is the most difficult of all the problems which an editor of Plautus has to face ; and it is one of constant occurrence, for in the Palimpsest the whole of the *Amphitruo*, *Asinaria*, *Aulularia* and *Curculio* is missing, nearly the whole of the *Captivi* (and *Vidularia*), and a great part of the other plays ; the best preserved are the *Stichus*, *Persa*, *Poenulus*, *Pseudolus* and *Trinummus*. For the greater part of the plays we have only the evidence of *P* to appeal to, save that lines here and there are preserved in quotations by ancient Grammarians, such as Nonius, Festus, Charisius, Priscian.

That Hiatus was a feature of the older poetry is a fact which cannot be denied. Cicero's statement (*ut versum facerent, saepe hiabant*) is conclusive on this point ; and it is supported

by the evidence (so far as that goes) of Saturnian Verse, in which any final long vowel or final syllable in *-m* seems normally to remain unelided before an initial vowel. The *uirginem oraret* and *aut ibi ommertans* seem to be six-syllable hemistichs of the same type as *Naeuio poetae* (for details see *Amer. Journ. Phil.* xiv. 309). And we have Hiatus expressly attested by Priscian in a couplet of Ennius (*Ann.* 354 M.):

insignita fere tum milia militū | octo  
duxit delectos, bellum superare potentes.

Saturnian versification transmitted to the early Latin adaptations of Greek Metre not merely its use of Alliteration and something of its regard for Accent, but also, in greater or less degree, its tolerance of Hiatus. Ritschl's uncompromising attitude of hostility to Hiatus is now given up by all editors of Plautus. No one now believes that Plautus, while readily admitting Elision at the end of the first hemistich of long lines, did not also readily admit Hiatus. Lines like:

*Men.* 778 nēscio quid uos uēlitati | éstis inter uōs duos,  
*Amph.* 208 redūcturum, abiturōs agro | Argiuos, pacem atque

ótium,

*Mil.* 1228 namque édepol uix fuit cōpiā | adeuādi atque  
impeetrāndi,

are no longer tampered with by editors; for it is acknowledged that the pause that followed the utterance of the first half of these lines justifies Hiatus, in the same way that it justifies the lengthening of a short syllable in lines like *Mil.* 1228 (just quoted),

*Asin.* 634 quas hōdie adulescens Diabolūs ipsi daturus dixit.

At the same time no two editors are agreed upon the exact limits observed by Plautus in his tolerance of Hiatus, upon the precise extent to which Cicero's statement, *ut versum faceret, hiabat*, applies to this early poet, the earliest whose works have, in any measure of completeness, been preserved.

It is clear that in the investigation of this subject we must be careful in the selection of our material. We must confine

ourselves, for the first at least, to lines whose text depends on something better than the evidence of one archetype. It is useless to compile lists of instances of Hiatus which have no stronger evidence than the Carolingian archetype (*P*) of the Palatine MSS.; what assurance have we that they are not all of the same type as the examples quoted above, *Graece* | *est* and *facere* | *officium*, and that the Ambrosian Palimpsest (*A*), if we could discover or decipher its version of the lines, would not present them in a different and more correct form?<sup>1</sup> Lines which are supported by the evidence of both *P* and *A*, or of *P* and some ancient Grammarians, have far stronger claims to our credence. They are likely to be either the 'ipsa verba' of Plautus, or at least the version that passed current as such in the early centuries of our era.

The method therefore that I propose to follow is this, to use as material only those 'versus hiantes' whose text is strongly established and to examine how many of the types of Hiatus which they exhibit are justified from later poetry, whether by its occasional use of the same licence or by its patent avoidance of Elision in such cases. For I take it that Latin Poetry flowed in a continuous stream from Livius Andronicus to Virgil, and that the prosody of one generation was never wholly alien from that of the generation that preceded it. When we find Catullus (xcvii. 1) and Virgil (*Ecl.* viii. 108) admitting *ita me dī ament* and *an quī amant*, we cannot disconnect these scansion from the forms in which these phrases normally (not occasionally) appear in Plautus, e.g.:

*Trin.* 241 nam quī amat quod amat, etc.

*Cist.* 280 nam quī amant stulte atque inmodeste atque inprobe,

*Merc.* 744 nam quī amat quod amat, etc.

*Circ.* 142 (anapaestic) Palinūre. Edepol quī amát, sī eget, etc.

*Pseud.* 943 (anapaestic) Ita mé dī ament—Ita nón facient, etc.

<sup>1</sup> For example, one of the lines used as evidence that Hiatus was permissible before initial *h* is *Rud.* 11:

qui fácta | hominum, móres, pietatem ét fidem (*P*, *A* n. *L*),  
where, it now appears, the Codex Turnebi had *moresque*.

With Plautus' lines before us we can no longer regard the Hiatus of *di*, *qui* in these phrases in Catullus' and Virgil's lines as a mere artificial imitation of Greek metrical licences, like *Actaeo* | *Aracyntho*. Clearly the phrases were pronounced by Roman lips in this way; and the Early Dramatists, who aim at the reproduction of the language of actual, everyday life, feel no scruples in giving them this scansion in their verse.

The Prosodic Hiatus of monosyllables ending in a long vowel or *m* persists so determinedly in Republican poetry and even in the more colloquial part of Horace's writings (*the Satires and Epistles*), that Ritschl himself was forced to allow it a place in Plautus. Its exact limits in Plautine Verse are not easy to define<sup>1</sup>. On the one hand we see a clear tendency to avoid by this means the total absorption by Elision of an emphatic monosyllable, e.g.

Tú|erūs es, tu séruom quaere, tú salueto, tú uale.

On the other, we see Enclitics or subordinate words joined with a neighbouring word into a word-group and thus avoiding elision, e.g. *qui-amant*, *qui-homo* like *dēamant*, etc. More questioned is the Prosodic Hiatus with Iambic and Cretic words, as in Virgil's *vale*, *valē*, | *inquit* (cf. Ovid *Met.* iii. 501), and *insulaē* | *Ionio in magno*, Lucretius' *remigē* | *oblitae pen-narum*, Catullus' *uno in lectulō*, | *erudituli ambo* (v. l. *lecticulo*), Ennius' *Scipiō* | *invicte*, and *milia militūm* | *octo* (see above); for many scholars believe these to be imitations of Greek scansions like *ἔσσεται ἡμαρ* (pronounced, according to Blass, *ἔσσετα-γ-ἡμαρ*). At the same time it is well known that the elision of the final vowel of an Iambic or Cretic word is avoided in Latin Poetry; and this fact suggests that there was something in the actual Latin pronunciation that operated against the suppression of the final long vowel or (the equivalent of a long vowel) the vowel followed by *-m* in such a collocation of syllables. The rarity of elision of the last syllable of *quidem*,

<sup>1</sup> That the unelided monosyllable occasionally constitutes one 'mora', e.g. *dē hórdeo* (Asin. 706, *P*, *Nomius*) like *quāmōbrem*, *dēhórtor*, *t hāc* (*Pseud. 1332, A P*), is now generally admitted;

but the matter has not yet been thoroughly investigated. The change of *me*, *te* in Hiatus of this kind to *med*, *ted* may not be invariably a necessity.

for example (see Munro's note on *Luer.* iii. 904), lends credence to the traditional text of Ennius *Ann.* 322 M.:

dum quiděm | unus homo Romanu' toga superescit.

A very strongly attested instance of this kind in Plautus, attested by both *P* and *A* and by an ancient Grammarian also, is:

*Pseud.* 319 úna opera alligém fugitiuam cáněm | agninis láctibus (*AP, Nonius*),

and similarly:

*Stich.* 152 síquae forte ex Ásia nauis hérī | aut hodie uénerit (*AP*),

*Pseud.* 317 aút terra aut marí | alicunde, etc. (*AP*),

*Pers.* 537 méa quidem istuc níl refert, | tuá ego hoc facio grátia (*AP*),

*Poen.* 497 Certúm. Tum tu igitur die bonō | Aphrodísiis (*AP*),

*Bacch.* 51 dúaě | unum expeditis palumbem, etc. (*P, Nonius*),

*Merc.* 257 nauem ex Rhodo qua est hérī | aduectus filius (*AP*),

while for Cretic words we have lines like:

*Most.* 675 atque éuocă | aliquem íntus ad te, Tránio (*AP*),

*Pseud.* 1121 (anapaestic) atque áliquem euocěm | hinc íntus (*AP*),

*Bacch.* 134 ibidem égo meam operam pérdidí, | ubi tú tuam (*P, Charisius*),

*Poen.* 988 pro dí immortales, plúrimi | ad illúm modum (*AP*),

*Pseud.* 346 quíndecim | habeó minas (*AP*).

The incidence of the ictus, be it remarked, cannot have had anything to do with the scansion. If Plautus pronounced the phrase as *evocă aliquem* (or *hinc*) *intus*, he would scan it after this fashion, whether the ictus or beat of the verse fell on the first or second or third syllable of the word *evoca*. I can see no justification for the widely prevalent opinion that Plautine Prosody is in great measure controlled by the incidence of ictus, by the fall, in other words, of the baton of a conductor

marking the time (*pollicis ictus*, Horace). Surely the prosody of a word, the quantity and articulation of a syllable, must have been controlled by the pronunciation of the word in the phrase or sentence, and not by anything else whatever. If the phrase *vale ait* was pronounced by Roman lips *va-lē-a-it*, Plautus could employ it as an opening for an Iambic line, with ictus *vale ait*, as well as for a Trochaic line, with ictus *vale ait*. The exact conditions, apart from mere metrical exigencies, under which Plautus uses Hiatus with Iambic and Cretic words (and word-endings) are difficult to determine. It seems to me that an emphatic disyllable, like *tuo* in such a line as *Asin.* 147 :

túō facit iussu, túō | imperio páret, etc.,

is treated like emphatic *tu* in the line quoted above :

tú̄erus es, tu séruom quaeris, etc.

But since a full collection of the instances of this type of Hiatus can be found in Klotz *Altrömische Metrik*, pp. 119 sqq., it is unnecessary to say more about it here. Nor need I do more than mention another kind of Hiatus, viz. Hiatus with Interjections (including *eccum*); for this remained as fully in use in classical, as in Plautine verse. And other two types of Hiatus, viz. (1) at the Diaeresis of long lines, (2) at a change of speaker, are now admitted by all editors to be unmistakable Plautine usages. Ritschl's argument that the frequency of Elision under the same circumstances is incompatible with Hiatus is now universally abandoned. Without further delay on familiar ground let us push our investigations further a-field, using the clue already indicated, the appearances of Hiatus in post-Plautine poetry. An unmistakable occasion of Hiatus in the classical poetry is the pause between the two clauses of an Antithesis, as in Virgil *G. i. 3*:

qui cultus habendo  
sit pecori, | apibus quanta experientia parcis.

Under this heading we may bring the following well-attested lines of Plautus :

*Men.* 882 lumbí sedendo, | óculi spectandó dolent (*P, Ausonijs*).

*Pers.* 550 úrbis speciem uídi, | hominum móres perspexí parum (*AP*).

We have a similar pause, accompanied by Hiatus in classical poetry, between other separate clauses of a sentence, e.g. Virgil *Ecl.* ii. 53, *Aen.* i. 405, i. 16 :

addam cerea pruna: | honos erit huic quoque pomo,  
et uera incessu patuit dea. | Ille ubi matrem,  
posthabita coluisse Samo; | hic illius arma,

to which we may perhaps add some instances of Hiatus in the **P**enthemimeral Caesura like *Ecl.* x. 13, viii. 41 :

illum etiam lauri, | etiam fleuere myricaे,  
ut uidi, ut perii, | ut me malus abstulit error.

Similarly in Plautus :

*Stich.* 270 sed éccum Pinacium, éius puerum. | hóc uide (*AP*),

*Poen.* 1009 quid in hánce uenistis úrbem? | aut quid quaéritis?  
(*AP*),

*Most.* 976 sit profectus péregrine, perpotásse assiduo. | ác simul  
(*AP* :—*avisse* Skutsch),

*Merc.* 259 inscéndo in lembum, | átque ad nauem déuehor  
(*AP*),

*Poen.* 1113 specié uenusta, | óre atque oculis pérnigris (*AP*,  
*Gellius*),

*Men.* 476 prandí, potaui, scórtum accubui, | ábstuli (*AP*),

*Pseud.* 673 híc argentum, | híc amica amánti erili filio (*AP*),

*Pers.* 413 tene sis argentum: | étiam tu argentúm tenes?  
(*AP*) (*tené sis* is unlikely),

*Poen.* 685 blande hóminem compellábo. | hospes hóspitem  
salútat: saluom te áduenire gaúdeo (*AP*),

*Pseud.* 890 em illíc ego habitu. | íntro abi et cenám coque  
(*AP*),

*Bach.* 946 milés Menelaust, égo Agamemno, | ídem Ulixes  
Lártius (*AP*) (*agamennon* *B*),

*Merc.* 538 Etiám cum uxore nón cubet? Amábo, | an  
marítust? (*AP*),

*Stich.* 221 logós ridiculos uéndo, | age licémini (*AP*),  
*Trin.* 185 em méa malefacta, | ém meam auaritiám tib- (AP) (meǎm ? cf. also *Arch. Lat. Lex.* xi. 489),  
           48 o amíce salue, | átque aequalis. út uales? (*AP*),  
*Most.* 583 immo ábi domum, uerum hércole dico, | ábi modo (AP) (*ábt mōdō* is unlikely),  
*Cas.* 782 nam nouom maritum, | ét nouam nuptám uolo (*AP*),  
*Pers.* 696 eum ego út requiram, | átque uti redimám uolo (*AP*),  
*Bacch.* 495 Sérua tibi sodálem, | et mihi filium. Factum uolo (*AP*),  
*Merc.* 530 ego té redemi : | ille mecum oráuit, etc. (*AP*).

A short vowel is allowed to stand in this hiatus in classical poetry, and a long vowel to retain its length. We may therefore accept

*Cas.* 550 Própter operam illíus hirci, ímprobi, | edéntuli (*AP*).

The justification of all these examples of Hiatus is to be found in the pause that ensued after the word whose final vowel is left unelided. Just as the inevitable pause at the end of a line prevents elision of a final vowel when the following line begins with a vowel, so in a minor degree the pause after *redemi* in the line just quoted :

ego té redemi : | ille mecum oráuit, etc.;

and we may say that the hiatus is designed by the poet to indicate that these lines are to be pronounced with a pause after these words. We seem to have the same justification of Hiatus in this line of Virgil (*Aen.* iii. 606) :

Si pereo, | hominum manibus periisse iuvabit,

where the emphatic articulation of the strongly stressed first syllable of *hominum* would require a momentary rest after the word *pereo* (cf. *Aen.* iv. 235). With this line of Virgil I would associate these well-attested examples of Hiatus in Plautus :

*Poen.* 89 Praesénti argento | hómini, si leno ést homo (*AP, Priscian*),

474 Voláticorum | hóminum? Ita dicó quidem (*AP*).

(Cf. *Most.* 1032, a line for which we have the evidence of the Palatine MSS. only:

Turbáuit? Immo | éxturbauit ómnia.)

Klotz in his account of Early Roman Metre (*Altrömische Metrik*, pp. 108 sqq.) claims that the utterance of any Proper Name, at least any unfamiliar name, would be attended by a pause of this kind and accepts as cases of legitimate Hiatus lines like :

*Bacch.* 354 senéx in Ephesum | íbit aurum arcéssere (*P, A n. l.; <hinc> ibit Camerarius*).

He appeals to Horace (*Epod.* v. 100):

et Esquilinaě | alites,

where others find a mere imitation of the Greek Prosodic Hiatus with *-ai* (see above).

I find it difficult to believe in a pause of this sort, unless the name were specially emphasized, e.g.:

*Poen.* 443 nam istí quidem hercle orátiōni | Oédipo opust cóniectore (*AP, Priscian*);

although an equally strongly attested case is :

*Amph.* 275 Néc Iugulae neque Vésperugo néque Vergiliae | óccidunt (*P, Varro, Festus*).

A pause would be natural in some lines with the Vocative of a Proper Name or the like, e.g. :

*Poen.* 1127 O mí ere, salute, | Hánno insperatíssime (*AP*),

*Pers.* 617 Vírgo, | hic homo próbus est. Credo. Nón diu apud hunc séruies (*AP*).

It is clear that the admission of this principle that any kind of pause in the utterance of a line justified Hiatus opens the way to a great deal of absurdity. One editor may retain Hiatus in one line, another in another line, by managing to

persuade themselves or their readers that some pause or other would be found in the actor's articulation of the line. Almost any example of Hiatus might be defended by more or less fantastic reasoning of this kind. And yet, if we believe that Hiatus was as much the rule in Saturnian Poetry as it is the exception in classical verse, we must suppose it to have played a considerable part in the Early Drama. I think the balance of probability is in favour of the correctness of well-attested lines like :

*Stich.* 216 Consénui, paene súm fame | emórtuos (*AP*),  
 489 Scis tú med esse | ími subsellí uirum (*AP*),  
*Merc.* 312 Lysímaché, auctor sum ut méd amando | énices  
 (*AP*),  
*Pseud.* 44 Lacrumáns, titubanti | ánimo, corde et péctore  
 (*AP*),  
 349 I gladium adfer: Quid opus gladio? Quí hunc  
 occidam | átque me (*AP*),  
*Poen.* 694 Ego íd quaero hospitium, ubi ego curer móllius  
 Quam régi Antiocho | óculi curarí solent (*AP*),  
 1290 Íta replebo, | Átritatem atrítior multo út siet (*AP*),  
*Pseud.* 424 quo in cómmeatum uólui | argentarium  
 proficisci, ibi nunc óppido opsaeptást uia (*AP*),  
*Aul.* 703 nám istos reges céteros  
 memoráre nolo, | hóminum mendicábula (*P.*  
*Nonius*),  
*Stich.* 180 proptérea credo nún̄c esurio | ácrius (*AP*) (ade-  
 surio *Ritschl*, <eo> a. *Mueller*),  
*Pers.* 556 quárta inuidia, quínta ambitio, séxta | obtrectatio  
 (*AP*),

where in an English printed play a dash would indicate the pause before the bizarre or recherché expression. For I believe that the law of Elision did not press so heavily on the Early Dramatists as on the classical poets, and that the former thought only of avoiding any scansion inconsistent with the actual pronunciation. The actual pronunciation of a word like *voluptatem* was as near *voluptatem* as *voluptatem*. Plautus accordingly allows either scansion, whereas the classical poets

Follow the law of 'length by position' and scan only *voluptatem*. Similarly the actual pronunciation of *Vergiliae occidunt* was probably as near *Vergiliae occidunt* as *Vergili(ae) occidunt*, and Plautus accordingly tolerates Prosodic Hiatus in such a phrase along with Elision. Where a phrase had one and only one pronunciation in current utterance, Plautus allows (in his dialogue metres, at least) only the scansion that corresponds to this. Thus while he admits *voluptatem*, *volō*, he recognises only *voluptas-meā*, *volō-scire*. He similarly restricts himself to Hiatus in the phrase *flagitium-hominis*, clearly because that scansion was postulated by current pronunciation, while he allows Elision or Hiatus in *intro-ibo*, *circum-imus* and the like. Spelling often indicates to us the course taken by Latin Pronunciation with regard to Elision and Hiatus. We find Elision in *anim(um)adverto*, *magn(o)opere*, *tant(o)opere*, *circitor*, but Prosodic Hiatus in *circu(m)it*, *factu(m)iri*, etc. The pun on *domum-itionem* and *Domitium* (Auct. Herenn. iii. 21) indicates Elision; so does the spelling *domusio* (for *domi-usio*, 'home use,' Petron.). Latin pronunciation thus appears to have recognized now Elision, now Prosodic Hiatus with long vowels or syllables in *-m*, while short vowels are invariably elided, e.g. *suav(e)olens*, *sesqu(i)opus*, *semi(i)esus* (on *triumnum* etc. see Brugmann *Grundriss*). We are accordingly prepared to find a corresponding variety of treatment in Plautine versification. But whether we can or should hope to determine in each case the conditions of Hiatus and of Elision is a matter of doubt. Cicero's words, *qui, ut versum facerent, saepe hiabant*, would rather lead us to regard Hiatus, at least in its less familiar types, as an occasional, irregular licence, resorted to merely through metrical necessity.

Naevius, unless we are to throw undeserved discredit on Cicero's express statement, left *qui* in Hiatus (not Prosodic Hiatus) in the phrase *vos qui*. But this is certainly not the normal treatment of the phrase. It is a licence of which the poet avails himself in this particular line and would inevitably be 'emended' by a modern editor, unless Cicero's authority stood in the way. Unfortunately we cannot attach the same weight to the 'consensus' of *P* and *A* as to an express declara-

tion by an ancient author like Cicero, for it is patent that these two authorities occasionally have fallen into one and the same error. A very common error in texts of Plautus is the 'modernizing' of unfamiliar, archaic forms, the substitution of *ut* for *uti*, *istum*, *illum* for *istunc*, *illunc*, and so on. The scribe of *A* and the scribe of *P*, or some archetype of *P*, have both committed the mistake of 'modernizing' *uti* in *Stich.* 234, *Pers.* 685, &c.:

uti decimam partem Hérculi pollúceam,  
crumínam hanc emere aut fáceré uti remigrét domum,

*istunc, illunc* in *Poen.* 651, 1302, *Pers.* 738 &c.:

atque ístunc e naui éxeuntem onerária,  
iám hercle ego illunc éxcruciandum tótum carnificí dabo,  
nisi égo illunc hominem péndo, perii, atque óptume

(so *illi* for *illuc*, *Cas.* 666, *Truc.* 200, *posse* for *potesse*, *Pseud.* 26, *sit* for *siet*, *Men.* 519). Again the temptation to write only once a word or syllable which was repeated in the original text is one to which a scribe rarely fails to succumb. A phrase like *gerere rem* is likely in, let us say, five MSS. out of a dozen to be miscopied *gererem*, as has happened both to *P* and *A* in *Trin.* 773:

illúm bene gerere rem ét ualere et uíuere.

Mistakes like these afford no evidence whatsoever of relationship between MSS. that exhibit them. They belong to the class of 'inevitable' mistakes, into which any scribe at any moment is likely to fall.

*Sies* has become *sis* (*Men.* 110) in *P*, in the MSS. of Servius and in the MSS. of Donatus; and the MS. of Festus, the MSS. of Nonius and the Ambrosian Palimpsest have, each of them, altered *expurigabo* to *expurgabo* in *Cist.* 304:

expúrigabo hercle ómnia ad rauclám rauim (*P* n. l.).

Moreover it is quite possible that *A* and *P* perpetuate some errors which had crept into some very early recension of Plautus,

from which they both are ultimately derived, although it is not likely that these errors would be very numerous<sup>1</sup>.

The recent history of Plautine textual criticism has been full of lessons that the 'consensus' of *P* and *A* is not a thing to be lightly set aside. Line after line in which the united testimony of *PA* seemed to be wrong have been found to be correctly transmitted to us. For a long time, for example, lines like :

*Stich.* 175 quia inde iam à pausillo púero ridiculús fui,  
were 'emended' by editors, until Prof. Skutsch made the discovery that final -*ɛ* of *inde*, *nempe*, &c., was suppressed before an initial consonant by Plautus in the same way as the final -*e* of *atque* (*ac*), *neque* (*nec*), *neve* (*neu*), *sive* (*seu*) was suppressed

<sup>1</sup> The theory that *A* and *P* represent two rival ancient recensions of Plautus, two entirely different streams of tradition, has been of late years somewhat modified on the strength of passages like *Pseud.* 392. One version of this passage, the version preserved in *P*, was :

ex multis, exquiré ex illis únum qui certús siet.

Another version was :

ex multis, ex illis paucis únum qui certúst cedo.

In *A* we find a curious jumble of these two versions :

ex multis atque exquiré ex illis unum qui certust cedo,

which has apparently arisen from the intrusion into the second version of the interlinear (or marginal) variant : *al.* 'exquiré ex illis'. It has, I think, been too readily assumed that such 'mixed' readings in *A* (and in *P*) imply direct derivation of the two texts from one and the same archetype. This archetype was, according to Prof. Leo, an edition of Plautus made in the time of Valerius Probus, with the help of a copy (or *copies*) found by that

scholar in the provinces (see Leo *Plautinische Forschungen*), and was full of marginal variants. The difference between the *A*-text and the *P*-text has been explained as the result of their editors' choice now of the reading of the text, now of the marginal variant. It seems to me that passages like the line of the *Pseudolus* just quoted are quite as naturally explained by the supposition that there were all along two rival versions of Plautus, and that the reading of the one version was frequently entered as a variant in the margin of the other. If we consider the great differences between *A* and *P*, not merely in readings, but also in such matters as the disposition of the *Cantica* (e.g. *Pseud.* 1329 sqq.), we shall, I think, prefer the old theory of two different editions which had in many passages been assimilated through the adoption by one of the reading of the other, to the new theory of two copies of the same edition which in course of time had come to exhibit points of dissimilarity. The question however of the relationship of *A* to *P* is too large to be discussed here.

in classical Latin (cf. *proin(de)*, *dein(de)*). The same scholar has cleverly vindicated another apparent case of 'consensus' in error, viz.:

*Rud.* 538 *Qui?* *Quia* | *auderem* *técum* in *nauem* *ascéndere*, by shewing that *audeo* has the O. Lat. pronunciation *avideo*, conformably with its derivation from *avidus*. In reading the list, which I now furnish, of the remaining 'versus hiantes' supported by the 'consensus' of *PA*, it must be remembered that there are four possibilities for each instance: (1) the text may be erroneous, the error belonging either to the ancient 'accepted text' of *Plautus*, or (2) having been inserted separately by the scribe of *A* and the scribe of *P* or of some archetype of *P*, (3) the text may be correct but the hiatus may be apparent and not real, (4) the hiatus may be legitimate.

*Bacch.* 558 *nequám* | *hominis* *ego* *párui* *pendo* *grátiam* (? *ne-  
quām-homo*, a word-group like *flagitiūm-ho-  
minis*),

530 *réddidi* *patrī* | *omne* *aurum*. *núnc* *ego* *illam* *mē-  
uelim* (*om.* *ego* *A*; *reddidit* or *reddidie* *A*),

*Cas.* 126 *post* *áutem* *ruri*, *nisi* *tu* *acervom* | *éderis* (perhaps *aceruom*, 4 syll.),

564 *hominém* | *amatorem* *ullum* *ád* *forum* *procéder* (? *hominém-amatorem*, a word-group),

1004 *MYRRHINA*. *cénseo* | *écástor* *ueniam* *hanc* *dá-  
dam*. *CLEOSTRATA*. *Faciam* | *út* *iubes* (perhaps *dandam*, *Clestrata*. *CLEOSTRATA Faciam*),

*Epid.* 214 *óbuiam* *ornatae* *éccurrebant* *súis* *quaeque* | *am-  
toribus* (perhaps *quaequaē am.*),

*Men.* 223 *nám* *parasitus* *ócto* | *hominum* *múnus* *facile* *fú-  
gitur* (*so also Nonius*) (<*unus*> *munus* *Mueller*),

1151 *quóniam* *haec* *euénérunt*, *frater*, *nóstra* | *ex* *se-  
téntia*,

*Mil.* 4 *praestríngat* *oculorum* *áciem* | *in* *acie* *hóstibus*,

604 *quíppe* | *hi* *si* *részciuere* *inimíci* *consiliúm* *tu-* *mo* (*om.* *hi* *P*: perhaps *quippe qui*),

1136 *una* *éxeuntis* *uídeo* | *hinc* *e* *próximo* (*uid.* *ex* *Acidalius*: *hinc* <*huc*> *Mueller*),

*Pers.* 262 nám hoc argentum | álibi abutar: bóues, quos  
emerem, nón erant (*abutar al.* Guyet. Perhaps  
*aliubi ab.*),

*Poen.* 1130 GIDD. cognóscin Giddenéñem, | ancillám tuam ?  
(perhaps *<me> anc.*),

862 Quíd agis ? Facio quód manufesti móechi | hau  
fermé solent (*moechi <hic>* Bothe),

969 cretást profecto | hórum | hominum oráatio (per-  
haps *cretast*, *<cretast>*),

328 námque edepol lucrúm | amare núllum amatorem  
ádecet,

1295 própemodum | hoc ópsonare prándium poteró  
mihi,

1246 quoqué modo | huius filias apud uós habeatis  
séruas (the normal scansion is *apúd uos*),

1272 cur número | estis mórtui hoc exémplo ut pin-  
gerétis ? (perhaps *cur*, *<cur>*),

982 adíbo | hosce atque áppellabo Púnice (perhaps  
*adibon*),

1327 siquíd lenoni | óbtigit magní mali (siquidem *P* ;  
siquidem quid *Camerarius*),

448 me oboélientem | ésse seruo lüberum (ob. me  
*Bothe*),

782 idque ín istoc adeo | aúrum inest marsúppio,

1051 patrítus ergo | hóspes Antidamás fuit (*patri tuus*  
ut vid. *P*; perhaps *erigo*, the old form of the  
conjunction),

*Pseud.* 151 nempe íta animati | éstis uos: uincítis duritia hoc  
átque me (*uin. hoc dur. ergo a. m. P.*),

443 \*Ω Zeū, quam pauci | éstis homines cómmodi  
(perhaps \*Ω Zeū, *<Zeū>*),

897 patér Calidori, | ópere edixit máxumo (*fecit P*),

410 erum éccum video | húc Simonem una simul,

153 huc ádhíbete auris quae égo loquar, plagígera  
genera | hóminum (plagigerula *Bothe*),

*Stich.* 171 nunc sí ridiculum | hóminem quaerat quíspiam  
(? *ridiculūm-hominem*, a word-group like *fla-  
gitiūm-hominis*),

235 ecástor auctiōnem | haud magni preti,  
 477 Nescio quid uero | hábeo in mundo. Í modo,  
 344 iámdudum | ego ístum patior dicere iniusté mihi  
     (perhaps *iamdudumne*),  
 384 iám non facio | auctiōnem: mi óbtigit heréditas  
     (perhaps *iam*, <*iam*>),  
 374 árgenti | auríque aduexit nímium. Nimis factúm  
     bene (adv. multum *P*),  
*Trin.* 539 nam fúlguritae súnt alternae | árbores (alternas,  
     alternis *edd.*),  
 540 sués moriuntur ángina | acérrume (*macerrumae*  
     Onions).

To these may be added this instance of 'consensus' of *P* with a Grammarian in a Trochaic Septenarius:

*Pseud.* 762 áui sinistra (-tera?), auspicio líquido atque ex  
 sententia (*P*, *Nonius*).

The following instances look suspiciously like errors inherited both by *P* and by *A* from a common original, the 'received' text of Plautus in the Early Empire:

*Poen.* 453 sqq. (the 'leno' is relating his experiences)  
 sex immolaui | ágnos, nec potuí tamen  
 propítiam Venerem fáceré uti | essét mihi. (ut *A*)  
 quoniám litare néqueo, abii illim ílico (abi *AP*)  
 irátus, uotui | éxta prosicárier,

*Stich.* 459 sqq. (the parasite's relation)  
 auspício | hodie | óptumo exiú foras:  
 mustéla murem | ábstulit praetér pedes;  
 cum stréna | obscaeuáuit; spectatum hóc mihist.

*Poen.* 485 sqq. (the soldier's relation)  
 tam crébri ad terram | áccidebant quám pira.  
 ut quísque acciderat, éum necabam | ílico  
 per cérebrum pinna suá sibi quasi túrturem;

but it is certainly remarkable that all three are narrative passages of the same type.

Quintilian's account of tolerable and intolerable Hiatus in prose Oratory<sup>1</sup> can hardly throw much light on the conditions of Hiatus in Plautine verse. Dr Maurenbrecher in his monograph on Hiatus (*Hiatus und Verscheifung im Alten Latein*, Leipzig, 1899), in which he provides us with a full collection of instances, has arranged his lists on the theory that Plautus' acceptance and avoidance of Hiatus depended on the nature of the final syllable left unelided. An examination of these lists will, I think, convince us that Plautus makes no distinction between one final long vowel and another, or between a final long vowel on the one hand and a final syllable ending in *-m* on the other. He leaves *virum* in hiatus as readily as *viro*, and *viro* as readily as *viri*. The theory that final *-m* had a different pronunciation in the time of Plautus and in the time of Cicero cannot stand. No more can Prof. Birt's theory that initial *h* was more resistive of elision in the pronunciation of Plautus' time; for Plautus scans *qui amat* just as readily as *qui homo*. More plausible is the view that the old Ablative suffix in *-d* was occasionally used by Plautus, as he occasionally uses the old Subjunctive *siet*, the old Verb-form *iurigo*, etc. Naevius certainly employs this Ablative-ending in his Saturnian poem:

noctu Troiad exibant capitibus opertis,

where the MSS. shew *Troia de ex.*, and Plautus makes free use of the monosyllabic Ablatives (and Accusatives) *med*, *ted*. Ritschl made no scruple of adding *-d* to any Ablative in Plautus that stood in Hiatus, e.g. *Men.* 882, *Amph.* 208 (quoted above):

lumbí sedendo, óculi spectandó dolent.

redícturum, abiturós agro Argfuos, pacem atque ótium.

Now however that the strength and weakness of the MSS. has been better gauged, it is felt to be unlikely that no clear trace

<sup>1</sup> Tum vocalium concursus, qui cum accidit, hiat et intersistit et quasi laborat oratio. Pessime longae, quae easdem inter se litteras committant, sonabunt. Praecipuus tamen erit hiatus earum, quae cavo aut patulo maxime ore efferuntur; *e* planior littera est, *i* angustior est, ideoque ob-

scurius in his vitium. Minus peccabit qui longis breves subiciet et adhuc qui praeponet longae brevem, minima est in duabus brevibus offensio. Atque cum aliae subiunguntur aliis, proinde asperiores erant, prout oris habita simili aut diverso pronuntiabantur (*Inst.* ix. 4, 33).

of this old form should appear in the MSS. if Plautus had actually used it. Like the 1 Decl. Gen. Sing. ending *-as*, the by-forms *homōnem* etc. (beside *hominem* etc.), *quamde* (beside *quam*), *hōce die* (beside *hodie*), it appears to have been obsolete in the current usage of Plautus' time and would be as unsuitable for his Comedies as, let us say, the old-fashioned disyllabic pronunciation of the ending *-tion* would be in an English Comedy to-day. On the other hand the early 1 Decl. Genitive ending *-ai*, and the old Pronominal Dative *quoiī* (*cuiī*) seem still to have lingered on, like *uti* beside *ut*, Inf. *-arier*, etc., beside *-ari*, etc., and should often be restored to lines which have the appearance of Hiatus. Of course archaisms that were not used by Plautus may appear in post-Plautine prologues (e.g. *anticus* in the prologue to the *Casina*, vv. 7, 13), and un-Plautine Hiatus may find a place there too (vv. 47—48, 79?), just as it appears in the Acrostic Arguments. An editor should therefore not be too hasty in ruling out Hiatus in a line of a Prologue (e.g. *Aul.* 5). In the plays themselves he must balance the probability of the Hiatus being genuine against the probability of the reading being corrupt. Where there is 'consensus' of *PA* or of *P* with an ancient Grammarian the latter probability will be greatly reduced. His chief liability to error will be in those abnormal cases of Hiatus like the *nos qui | accolitis* of Naevius (cited by Cicero), which occur in parts for which we have no other evidence than the Palatine MSS. The temptation to 'emend' these is invincible. The only safe criterion of such Hiatus will be the presence of metrical exigency, the necessity of getting certain words in a certain order into a line. Where such necessity plainly exists and plainly calls for Hiatus of an abnormal type, the editor should acquiesce in the traditional version of the line, even though he can produce no parallel example.

But to close our ears to Cicero's unimpeachable testimony to the prevalence of Hiatus in Early Poetry is surely irrational, especially when his testimony is confirmed by what we know of Saturnian Verse and of the phonetic characteristics of the Latin language. The rude versification of plebeian epitaphs and the like shews us that ordinary, unconventional diction,

when not trammelled by artificial laws of Metre, acquiesced in Hiatus between words, just as literary diction itself acquiesced in Hiatus between the components of Word-groups or Compounds like *quām-obrem*, *tām-etsi*, *pr(a)ēhendo*, *dēhortor*. Hiatus is therefore not alien to the nature of the Latin language; and this being the case, we should expect to find it playing a part in the early Drama, whose verses deliberately reproduce the actual form of everyday utterance. The reaction begun by Ritschl against the old indiscriminate admission of Hiatus in Plautus' verses was a good thing, but it has been carried too far. It is contrary to all laws of textual criticism when editors continue to exercise their ingenuity in 'emending' lines whose text rests on the firmest possible basis of evidence, and treat the united testimony of the Palatine MSS., the Ambrosian Palimpsest and the citation by ancient Grammarians in as cavalier a fashion as the single testimony of one of these three witnesses. Prof. Leo has shewn his disgust at this uncalled-for patching and tinkering of Plautus' lines by printing in his edition of the plays almost every 'versus hians' in the form in which the MSS. present it. His theory is that, although nine-tenths of these instances are un-Plautine, still the lines may have had this form in the earliest collected edition of the plays, since the belief was current in the Early Empire that Hiatus was a feature of the older poetry. This treatment of the MSS. seems to me to err in the other direction, in exaggerating the authority of the Palatine MSS. Their 'consensus' does not give us the reading of an ancient recension; far from it. It gives us merely the reading of a single Carolingian codex, a codex abounding in the transpositions, omissions and misguided corrections that characterize the work of every mediaeval scribe. We cannot treat apparently erroneous readings of this authority with the same respect as we treat the readings of an ancient authority like the Ambrosian Palimpsest. Infinitely greater respect is due to the readings supported by the 'consensus' of *P* and *A*.

W. M. LINDSAY.

TAC. GERM. 13.

IN SIGNIS nobilitas aut magna patrum merita principis dignationem etiam adulescentulis adsignant: ceteris robustioribus ac iam pridem probatis adgregantur, nec rubor inter comites adspici.

Tacitus is here describing the admission of the young German to public life, and the words I quote are usually so rendered as to cover only one method of entry, enrolment in the comitatus. 'High birth or family services win the favour of a Princeps: the young men are grouped with older members of the comitatus and are not ashamed to be *comites*.' But (1) *dignationem adsignant* cannot conceivably mean 'win the favour of': the passages quoted in various commentaries come nowhere near that sense. And (2) the idea of the young man being ashamed comes oddly after the allusion to *comites robustiores ac iam pridem probati*. Lipsius took the words differently: he translated *dignationem adsignant* in the natural sense 'assign the rank' and read *ceteri*: that is, "high birth etc. make a boy a *princeps* at once; the others are ranked with (or under ?) older men as *comites*." On this view the passage refers to two ways of entering life, as a *princeps* or as a *comes*. The same general sense can be obtained equally well without emendation by putting a full stop before *Nec*. "Young men of birth become *principes* at once and rank straightway with older and experienced leaders. Nor on the other hand is enrolment as *comes* despised." This, I think, gives a point to *ceteris robustioribus* etc. which is totally lacking in other renderings: it avoids any change of the text and takes *dignationem adsignant* in its natural sense. *Nec rubor*, then, commences the account of the comitatus which follows in the next few lines and which I have not quoted at the head of this note.

F. HAVERFIELD.

πρῶτον μὲν εἴ τινας δεῖ τοιαύτας εἶναι μονάδας ὑπολαμ-  
βάνειν ἀληθῶς οὖσας· εἴτα πῶς αὐτάς, μίαν ἐκάστην  
οὖσαν ἀεὶ τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ μήτε γένεσιν μήτε ὅλεθρον προσ-  
δεχομένην, ὅμως εἶναι βεβαιότατα μίαν ταύτην· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο  
ἐν τοῖς γεγονομένοις αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀπέροις εἴτε διεσπασμένην καὶ  
πολλὰ γεγονούνταν θετέον, εἴθε ὅλην αὐτὴν αὐτῆς χωρίς, διὸ  
πάντων ἀδυνατώτατον φαίνοιτι· ἀντί, ταῦτὸν καὶ ἐν ἄμα ἐν τε  
καὶ πολλοῖς γίγνεσθαι.

Concerning the foregoing passage there is, I believe, no dispute about the meaning of the words *πρῶτον μὲν...ἀληθῶς οὖσας*, nor of the words *μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο...γίγνεσθαι*. The first sentence raises the question 'are there eternally existing Ideas or not?': the last, 'what is the relation of these Ideas to γεγονόμενα?' The intermediate words are the field on which *τῇ πολλῇ μετὰ διαιρέσεως ἀμφισβήτησις γίγνεται*: and the dispute about the significance of the words themselves is further complicated by a doubt which has been raised whether in the whole passage three problems are stated, or only two.

Badham in his two editions of the dialogue propounds two distinct views: (1) he understands *ὅμως* to mean 'notwithstanding what is about to be said in the following sentence'; and he proceeds, 'There are but two [questions]. The first question is, whether these monads have a real being; the second is, how we can conceive that they subsist unchangeably as monads, *and yet* in the world of sense they must be regarded as either distributed into as many parts as there are individuals to partake of them, or as remaining as wholes in each individual, so that each monad is at once one in each, and again one in many.' In his second edition Badham abandons the view that there are two questions only, and emends the text

by inserting  $\mu\bar{\eta}$  before  $\varepsilon\bar{v}ai$ , thus making the three questions (1) do the monads exist? (2) are they pluralised in  $\gamma\bar{v}v\bar{o}\mu\bar{e}v\bar{a}$ ? (3) if so, how is the pluralisation to be understood?

Jackson (*Journal of Philology* xxv 292) makes only two questions, as follows: (1) Do the monads exist? (2) How do they retain their unity in plurality? and he adds 'the participial clause  $\mu\bar{v}av\bar{v}$   $\bar{e}\bar{k}\bar{a}\bar{s}\bar{t}\bar{v}\bar{v}\bar{v}$   $\kappa\bar{t}\bar{v}\bar{v}$  describes the monads as essentially units, and the words  $\bar{\delta}\bar{v}\bar{m}\bar{v}\bar{s}$   $\varepsilon\bar{v}ai$   $\kappa\bar{t}\bar{v}\bar{v}$  bring this their characteristic into contrast with the pluralisation which somehow or other they must undergo in particular things.'

Bury, assuming three questions, accepts Stallbaum's statement of the second: 'deinde, quomodo unaquaeque ab ortu et interitu immunis esse intelligatur': but he brackets  $\bar{\delta}\bar{v}\bar{m}\bar{v}\bar{s}$ , justly remarking that Stallbaum does not account for it.

Other views have also been taken, which I do not think it necessary to discuss here.

Of the interpretations cited above, Badham's amended version seems to me far and away the best. Every reading of the passage more strongly convinces me that it is utterly impossible but that  $\pi\bar{r}\bar{a}\bar{v}\bar{t}\bar{o}\bar{v}$   $\mu\bar{e}\bar{v}\bar{v}$ ,  $\bar{e}\bar{l}\bar{v}\bar{a}$ ,  $\mu\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{a}$   $\delta\bar{e}$   $\tau\bar{o}\bar{v}\bar{v}\bar{t}\bar{o}$ , introduce three distinct and coordinate questions. And Badham's explanation gives us three perfectly reasonable questions: are there monads? are the monads pluralised? how are they pluralised? Dr Jackson indeed objects to it on the ground that (1) 'it is improbable that  $\mu\bar{\eta}$  has dropped out; (2) the facts that the phrase  $\pi\bar{w}\bar{s}$   $a\bar{v}$   $\tau\bar{a}\bar{v}\bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{s}$   $\kappa\bar{t}\bar{v}\bar{v}$  in the sentence which begins with  $\bar{e}\bar{l}\bar{v}\bar{a}$  is incomplete without the word  $\theta\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{o}\bar{v}$  derived from the sentence which begins with  $\mu\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{a}$   $\delta\bar{e}$   $\tau\bar{o}\bar{v}\bar{t}\bar{o}$ ', and that the phrase  $\bar{e}\bar{v}$   $\tau\bar{o}\bar{s}$   $\gamma\bar{v}\bar{v}\bar{o}\bar{m}\bar{e}\bar{v}\bar{o}\bar{v}\bar{s}$   $a\bar{v}$   $\kappa\bar{t}\bar{v}\bar{v}$  in the sentence which begins with  $\mu\bar{e}\bar{t}\bar{a}$   $\delta\bar{e}$   $\tau\bar{o}\bar{v}\bar{t}\bar{o}$  is incomplete without the words  $\pi\bar{w}\bar{s}$   $\tau\bar{a}\bar{v}\bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{s}$   $\kappa\bar{t}\bar{v}\bar{v}$  derived from the sentence which begins with  $\bar{e}\bar{l}\bar{v}\bar{a}$ , seem to show that the two sentences are indissolubly connected.'

I fail to find much cogency in these objections. As to the omission of  $\mu\bar{\eta}$ , it is a fact that a negative does sometimes drop out without much apparent reason: e.g. *Phaedo* 105 A, where  $o\bar{u}\bar{k}$  has indubitably fallen out, without, I think, much countenance from Cobet and his canons. Nor can I regard Dr Jackson's

second argument as conclusive: for in the second sentence it is as easy to supply *δεῖ* from the first sentence as *θερέον* from the third; while in the third I see no need of any supplement.

I should thus, if  $\mu\eta$  were in the MSS., be content to accept Badham's interpretation. But  $\mu\eta$  is not in the MSS.: and this induces one to examine a little closer. Two points in particular suggest themselves: (1) although the second of Badham's questions is quite reasonable, it is hardly necessary; for it is implied in the third: (2) is  $\mu\eta\ \epsilon\iota\tau\iota\ \beta\epsilon\beta\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\alpha\ \mu\iota\alpha\tau\ \tau\alpha\tau\eta\eta$  exactly the phrase in which we should expect Plato to couch the question 'are the monads pluralised'? He might put it so; and if the MSS. put it so, I should not cavil; but they do not.

I venture to suggest yet another interpretation which, without any alteration of the text, appears to me to give a satisfactory sense. The words *εἰτα...μίαν ταύτην* I take to mean 'How can it be that these monads, each being individually self-identical and eternal, are yet one single unity?' in other words what is the relation of the special Ideas to the supreme Idea—in the language of the *Republic*, of the *αὐτὸν ἔστιν ἔκαστον* to the *αὐτὸν ὁ ἔστιν ἀγαθόν*, or in that of the *Timaeus*, of the *νοητὰ ζῷα* to the *αὐτὸν ὁ ἔστι ζῷον*? This is one of the fundamental questions of Platonism; a question fully as important and fully as difficult as the relation between ideas and *γιγνόμενα*. And indeed in any statement of the problems of *ἐν καὶ πολλά* found in a dialogue representing the mature Platonism it would surely be strange were this omitted. For if the Ideas are substantial entities, it is inevitable that we ask how they are related to the supreme Idea, whence, according both to the *Republic* and the *Timaeus*, their existence is derived.

Accordingly I find in the passage these three questions:  
1) Are there Ideas at all? (2) how are *ai πολλαὶ ἴδεαι* comprehended in the universal *μονάς*? (3) how is *μία ἐκάστη ἴδεα* pluralised in the *γυγνόμενα καὶ ἀπειρά*?

R. D. ARCHER-HIND.

## ALEXANDRIAN EVIDENCE FOR THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE GOSPELS.

RECENT<sup>1</sup> discoveries in Asia Minor and Egypt with the consequent discussion and conclusions to which they have given rise, have revived the interest in various historical questions closely connected with the credibility of the historical books of the New Testament. The new material provided now for our study encourages the hope that certainty, or at least decisive probability, may before long be attained; and it is not surprising that problems, relegated by the more wide-visioned scholar to the limbo of insoluble intricacies craving new determinants, have suddenly been resumed, and not merely by specialists.

I propose in this paper to examine such evidence of importance as there is, bearing upon the question of the chronology of the chief events in the life of the Christ, Jesus. This evidence consists of (a) certain statements in the canonical Gospels, (b) certain datings preserved in the Fathers, (c) the records of census-lists recently discovered, dates of Josephus and the like.

I shall deal first and chiefly with the dates of the Fathers, for two reasons. The Gospel statements are so scanty that little can be made of them; the variety of interpretations put upon them by modern scholars, coupled with the disagreement of the Fathers, suggests if it does not prove that those statements are better interpreted from outside than by rigorous

<sup>1</sup> The facts may be seen in *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* vol. ii. ed. F. G. Kenyon 1898; W. M. Ramsay *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* Hodder and Stoughton 1898, where also

will be found a sufficient discussion of questions that are affected by those facts. More will be found in *The Expositor*, a review of Ramsay in the *Manchester Guardian*, &c.

cross-examination of the text. The other reason is that, as I hope to shew, the most valuable evidence of the Fathers has been misunderstood—owing to an ignorance that would be strange, if it were not that theologians have rarely been experts in the chronology of the Greeks. Hence we find Mr C. H. Turner<sup>1</sup> lightly remarking that ‘the patristic evidence (sc. for the Month and Day of the Nativity), interesting in itself, though too voluminous for discussion here, leads to no real results.’

The earliest evidence, as Mr Turner says, is that of Clement of Alexandria. In a passage of some length, he makes certain statements as embodying his own belief, and mentions certain calculations of dates made by scholars, and certain made by the Basileidian Gnostics. To dismiss these as ‘worth nothing at all,’ as Mr Turner does, seems somewhat rash: but the serious point is this. He, like others<sup>2</sup>, interprets the dates Clement gives as dates in the stationary Alexandrian year introduced by Augustus instead of in the shifting Egyptian year. Yet Unger<sup>3</sup> might have told him that Censorinus 40 years later than Clement uses the Egyptian year alone; it is only when we get to Epiphanius, 200 years after Clement, that we find the Augustan year alone known<sup>4</sup>. This lays the burden of proof on those who read Clement’s dates as dates of the Augustan calendar. Is there anything in his dates to suggest that he thus differed from the habitual practice of his age? Nothing, and so far from this, his dates become con-

<sup>1</sup> Hastings’ *Dict. of Bible* 1. p. 405 col. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Schaff, e.g., and J. B. McClellan *The New Testament* vol. 1. p. 391. But in *Journal of Class. and Sacred Philology* vol. 1. Cambridge, 1854, pp. 327 sqq. they are correctly interpreted by H. Browne, to whose paper my attention was called by Dr H. Jackson after this was written. H. Browne sets out from Clement’s statement of intervals and totals, and makes most valuable suggestions and corrections; but he has not verified or checked these by calculating the true astro-

nomical dates, so that some of his dates are quite untenable, e.g. his date for the Passover of 70 or 71 A.D. He gives a further reason for thinking that Clement used ‘the vague year of the Astronomical Canon or *Æra* of Nabonassor, that being the instrument commonly used in his age and country,’ in that Clement sets out with the Canon (see below, p. 238, note 8).

<sup>3</sup> Müller’s *Handb. d. klass. Alt.-Wiss.* 1. p. 778.

<sup>4</sup> However Anatolius of Laodicea c. 300 A.D. uses the Alexandrine year; see *Guardian*, Sept. 6, 1899.

sistent, and intelligible, not 'worth nothing at all,' as soon as we thus interpret them rightly.

But before we come to them, we shall do well to consider some other statements of his, in regard to which we have the means to check his dates.

The whole passage will be found in the *Stromateis* i. 21, §§ 144—6, R. Klotz, *Leipzig*, 1831 (P. 405—9 Potter; 146—7 Sylburg), but it may be well to quote such sentences as are either so significant that it may be better for the reader to see them himself or have received emendation at the hands of scholars in recent years. Τινὲς μέντοι τοὺς χρόνους τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν βασιλέων οὗτως ἀναγράφουσι, Γάιος Ἰούλιος Καίσαρ ἔτη γ' μῆνας δ' ἡμέρας 5', μεθ' δὲ Αὔγουστος ἐβασιλεύσεν ἔτη με' μῆνας δ' ἡμέραν μίαν, ἐπειτα Τιβέριος ἔτη κε' μῆνας 5' ἡμέρας ιθ', δὲ διαδέχεται Γάιος Καίσαρ ἔτη τρία μῆνας ι' ἡμέρας ὀκτώ, τοῦτον Κλαύδιος ἔτη ιγ' μῆνας η' ἡμέρας κη', Νέρων ἔτη ιγ' μῆνας ὀκτὼ ἡμέρας κη', Γάλβας μῆνας ἐπτὰ ἡμέρας 5', Ὁθων μῆνας ε' ἡμέραν α', Οὐντέλλιος μῆνας ἐπτὰ ἡμέραν α', Οὐεσπεσιανὸς ἔτη ια' μῆνας ια' ἡμέρας κβ', Τίτος ἔτη β' μῆνας β', Δομιτιανὸς ἔτη ιε' μῆνας η' ἡμέρας ε', Νέρβας ἔτος α' μῆνας δ' ἡμέρας ι', Τραϊανὸς ἔτη ιθ' μῆνας ζ' ἡμέρας ιε', Ἀδριανὸς ἔτη κ' μῆνας ι' ἡμέρας κη', Ἀντωνῖνος ἔτη κβ' μῆνας τρεῖς ἡμέρας ζ, Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος ἔτη ιθ' ἡμέρας ια', Κόμοδος ἔτη ιβ' μῆνας θ' ἡμέρας ιδ'. Ἀπὸ Ιουλίου τοίνυν Καίσαρος ἔως Κομόδου τελευτῆς γίνονται ἔτη σλε' μῆνες 5'. Συνάγεται δὲ πάντα τὰ ἀπὸ Ῥωμύλου τοῦ κτίσαντος Ῥώμην ἔως Κομόδου τελευτῆς ἔτη θνγ' μῆνες 5'. Ἐγεννήθη δὲ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν τῷ ὀγδόῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ ἔτει ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκέλευσαν ἀπογραφὰς γενέσθαι ἐπὶ Αὔγουστου...Ιε' οὖν<sup>1</sup> ἔτη Τιβερίου καὶ ιε' Αὔγουστου, οὗτω πληροῦται τὰ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἔως οὖν ἐπαθεν. Ἀφ' οὐδ' δ' ἐπαθεν ἔως τῆς καταστροφῆς Ἰερουσαλὴμ γίνονται ἔτη μβ' μῆνες γ'. Καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς καταστροφῆς Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἔως Κομόδου τελευτῆς ἔτη ρκα'<sup>2</sup> μῆνες ι'

<sup>1</sup> MS. πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ οὖν ἔτει Τιβερίου καὶ πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ emendavit H. Browne *loc. cit.* p. 328.

<sup>2</sup> So H. Browne *loc. cit.* p. 328 for ρκη'.....γ'. He thus makes the sum right: 30<sup>γ</sup> + 42<sup>γ</sup> 3<sup>μ</sup> + 121<sup>γ</sup> 10<sup>μ</sup> 13<sup>δ</sup> = 194<sup>γ</sup>

1<sup>μ</sup> 13<sup>δ</sup>. This gives the capture of Jerusalem in 71 A.D. and makes Clement identify by an oversight the time of Baptism and Passion, and neglect even the acceptable year he speaks of, unless the three months represent it.

ἡμέραι ιγ'. Γίνονται οὖν ἀφ' οὐδὲ ὁ Κύριος ἐγεννήθη ἔως Κομόδου τελευτῆς τὰ πάντα ἔτη ἑκατὸν ἐννενήκοντα τέσσαρα μῆνες εἰς ἡμέραι ιγ'. Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ περιεργότερον τῆς γενέσει τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν οὐ μόνον τὸ ἔτος ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν προστιθέντες, ἣν φασιν ἔτους κη' Αὐγούστου ἐν πέμπτῃ Παχῶν καὶ εἰκάδι. Οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Βασιλείδου καὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐορτάζουσι προδιανυκτερεύοντες ἀναγνώσεσι. Φασὶ δὲ εἶναι τὸ πεντεκαιδέκατον ἔτος Τιβερίου Καίσαρος τὴν πεντεκαιδεκάτην τοῦ Τυβί μηνός, τινὲς δὲ αὐτὴν ἐνδεκάτην τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνός. Τό τε πάθος αὐτοῦ ἀκριβολογούμενοι φέρουσιν οἱ μέν τινες τῷ ἑκκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Φαμενώθ κέ, οἱ δὲ Φαρμουθὶ κέ· ἄλλοι δὲ Φαρμουθὶ ιθ' πεπονθέναι τὸν Σωτῆρα λέγοντιν. Ναὶ μήν τινες αὐτῶν φασὶ Φαρμουθὶ γεγενῆσθαι κδ ὅτι κέ. "Ετι δὲ κάκεινα τῇ χρονογραφίᾳ προσαποδοτέον, τὰς ἡμέρας λέγω ἃς αἰνίττεται Δανιήλ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐρημώσεως Ἱερουσαλήμ<sup>1</sup>, τὰ Οὐεσπεσιανοῦ ἔτη ζ' μῆνας ια'<sup>2</sup>... Αὗται οὖν αἱ β' τ' ἡμέραι γίνονται ἔτη σ' μῆνες δ', ὡν τὸ ἥμισυ κατέσχε Νέρων βασιλεύων, καὶ ἐγένετο ἥμισυ ἐβδομάδος· τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ Οὐεσπεσιανὸς σὺν "Οθωνι καὶ Γάλβᾳ καὶ Οὐιτελλίῳ<sup>3</sup>. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λέγει Δανιήλ· "μακάριος ὁ φθάσας εἰς ἡμέρας ἀτλέ"<sup>4</sup>· μέχρι γὰρ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ὁ πόλεμος ἦν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπαύσατο... ἄλλοι δὲ μέχρι τῆς Κομόδου τελευτῆς ἀριθμήσαντες ἀπὸ Ἰνάχου καὶ Μωϋσέως ἔτη ἐφησαν γίνεσθαι βωμό<sup>5</sup>, οἱ δὲ βλκα'<sup>6</sup>.

## I. CLEMENT'S DATES FOR THE EMPERORS.

### § 1. *The Long List.*

If we take first Clement's long list of the emperors, in which he gives the years, months and days of their reigns, we find it difficult to arrive securely at a conception of his method

<sup>1</sup> H. Browne places a full stop here and the mark of a lacuna and supplies e.g. <εὐρίσκομεν οὖν μετὰ τὴν καταστροφὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ>.

<sup>2</sup> So Lowth and Browne for ζ'.

<sup>3</sup> Another lacuna: <And then the Temple was destroyed by fire, but the

siege still continued until the city was taken. > H. Browne *loc. cit.* p. 336.

<sup>4</sup> Bywater *Journal of Philology* iv. 206 reads μωμό<sup>6</sup> and αὐλκα'. (For these references to the work of Browne and Professor Bywater I am indebted to the kindness of Dr Henry Jackson.)

of reckoning. The text is demonstrably corrupt in places, and this makes it impossible to do more than eliminate certain ways of reckoning which we might have guessed him to be using. Thus he cannot be reckoning with Roman months and days; for while for Commodus' reign he would in that case not be including the extremities, in the case of Antoninus, Tiberius and Nerva he does do so. The case of Tiberius shews that the inconsistency is not due to a consideration of leap year.

Nor can he be using the Egyptian<sup>1</sup> reckoning without omitting the five *ēπαγόμεναι* as outside any month, unless he reckons backwards when the number of months approaches the full year: the length given to the reigns of Gaius and of Commodus proves it.

Nor again can he be using a reckoning by Roman months and days, adjusting the day to Egyptian, which began about 3 a.m.: besides its inconsistency there is the further obstacle to this, that while the datings of Domitian and Nerva prove that he cannot be reckoning inclusively, Augustus, Tiberius and Gaius will not be right by exclusive reckoning—no adjustment to the Egyptian day will explain these for Roman reckoning<sup>2</sup>.

Lastly it is clear that Clement did not use Egyptian pure and simple, that is, he did not take Egyptian dates as they would have been in the year the event happened: if he uses Egyptian, it is the Egyptian of the time when he wrote. Otherwise we should find one extra day appearing in every four years beyond what Roman reckoning shews. But Commodus' case shews that this is not so.

But it seems impossible to determine whether (i) he used the Alexandrian—but this, as will be seen, perhaps disagrees with his short list: or (ii) uses the Egyptian, counting the five *ēπαγόμεναι* among the days, but reckoning backwards, if the months almost amount to a full year: or (iii) uses the Egyptian omitting the *ēπαγόμεναι*—and here again whether he reckons backwards on occasion or not. Against this last theory

<sup>1</sup> The Egyptian months are, of course, all 30 days in length: the remaining 5 days are *ēπαγόμεναι*.

like later writers makes no reference to any other time-notation than the Egyptian (or Alexandrian).

<sup>2</sup> It is noticeable that Clement un-

is the dating of Trajan however, but as the date of his death is not certain, this is perhaps not conclusive. The case of Nerva proves that the reckoning forward at any rate is never conclusive.

These methods will generally lead to identical results—in the following table I have given the second reckoning in the text, noting variations in the margin.

Had the third method been employed, we might with interest have determined when the Egyptian year according to Clement had its *ἐπαγόμεναι*. Adrian's case would have shewn it was between 10 August and 10 July; Vespasian's between 1 July and 23 June. This so nearly agrees with what we know to have been the case about Clement's time, that it is possible that if we had a sound text we should find this to be the method Clement actually employed. The first year in which 1 Thoth was 1 July was 211 A.D. On the other hand the text as I have emended it for Nero's reign to Vespasian's if correct would shew that Clement reckoned backwards, both for Galba and for Vitellius. But in so much uncertainty, with corrupt readings necessitating constant emendation, it seemed best not to press the evidence, but leave the method Clement employed undetermined.

|          |                             |                                 | y.                    | m. | d.   |
|----------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|----|--|
| Julius   | 9 November 48               | to 15 March 44                  | = 3.                  | 4. | 6  |
| Augustus | 28/9 <sup>1</sup> August 30 | to 29 August 14                 | = 43 <sup>2</sup> .   | 0. | 1  |
| Tiberius | 29 August 14                | to 16 March 37                  | = 22 <sup>3</sup> .   | 6. | 19   |
| Gaius    | 16 March 37                 | to 23/4 <sup>4</sup> January 41 | = 3.10.               | 8  | 24 Jany. simply by<br>backward inclusive reckoning |
| Claudius | 23/4 January 41             | to 23 October 54                | = 13.                 | 8. | 28   |
| Nero     | 23 October 54               | to 19 January 68                | = 13.2 <sup>4</sup> . | 28 |  |

<sup>1</sup> As I suppose the Egyptian day is in question, ending about 3 a.m. on the 29th.

<sup>2</sup> MS. 46<sup>7</sup> 4<sup>m</sup> 1<sup>d</sup>, but Clement's other list, of years only in the reigns, gives 43. Ramsay *Was Christ etc.* p. 140 states that in Egypt there is not a trace of any other reckoning of Augustus' reign than from the taking of Alexandria, the first year being considered to begin on 29 August, 30.

This entirely agrees with Clement as emended. The 4 months I take to be miscopied after the 43 years from Julius' figures. Cf. perhaps Nero's case below.

<sup>3</sup> So the short list, but the MS. here 26.

<sup>4</sup> Read  $\beta'$  for  $\gamma$ . This makes the sequence come out correct, but is not at all historically true. I owe this to H. Browne's suggestion that Clement

|           |                 |                                  | y.                   | m.                  | d.                     |
|-----------|-----------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| Galba     | 19 January 68   | to 27 August 68                  | =                    | 7.                  | 6                      |
| Otho      | 27 August 68    | to 26 November 68                | =                    | 3 <sup>1</sup> .    | 1                      |
| Vitellius | 26 November 68  | to 1 July 69                     | =                    | 7.                  | 1                      |
| Vespasian | 1 July 69       | to 23/4 June 79                  | =                    | 9 <sup>3</sup> .    | 11.22                  |
|           |                 |                                  | 24 June              | simply by           |                        |
|           |                 |                                  |                      | backward inelu-     |                        |
|           |                 |                                  |                      | sive reckoning      |                        |
| Titus     | 23/4 June 79    | to 13 September 81               | =                    | 2 <sup>3</sup> .    | 2.22                   |
|           |                 |                                  | 21 days if from June |                     |                        |
|           |                 |                                  | 24: 17 days or 16    |                     |                        |
|           |                 |                                  | by Alexandrine       |                     |                        |
|           |                 |                                  | or (ii)              |                     |                        |
| Domitian  | 13 September 81 | to 18 September 96               | =                    | 15 <sup>4</sup> .   | 0. 5                   |
| Nerva     | 18 September 96 | to 26/7 January 98               | =                    | 1.                  | 4. 10                  |
| Trajan    | 26/7 January 98 | to 10/11 <sup>5</sup> August 117 | =                    | 19.6 <sup>6</sup> . | 16                     |
| Adrian    | 10/1 August 117 | to 10/1 July 138                 | =                    | 20.10.28            | 14/15 perhaps by (iii) |
| Antoninus | 10/1 July 138   | to 6/7 March 161                 | =                    | 22 <sup>7</sup> .   | 7.29                   |
|           |                 |                                  | 25 days by Alex-     |                     |                        |
|           |                 |                                  | andrine, 23 back-    |                     |                        |
|           |                 |                                  | wards                |                     |                        |
| Antoninus | 6/7 March 161   | to 17 March 180                  | =                    | 19.                 | 0.11                   |
| Commodus  | 17 March 180    | to 31 December 192               | =                    | 12.                 | 9.14                   |

## § 2. *The Short List*<sup>8</sup>.

We must now notice a supposed peculiarity in Clement's short list as I have called it, that is his list of emperors, giving the years only of their reigns. The peculiarity is that (so it has been said<sup>9</sup>) any year is assigned to an emperor, if 1 Thoth falls in his reign. Thus Adrian reigning from 11 August 117 to 10 July 138, is credited with 21 years; Galba reigning from June 68 to January 69 is credited with one year, while Otho is not, nor yet Vitellius, 1 Thoth of 69 falling in Vespasian's reign. This fact in itself would be sufficient to prove that

makes Otho and Vitellius cover one year from August 29th. There is no means of checking the one odd day.

<sup>1</sup> Read  $\gamma'$  for  $\epsilon'$ . Cf. Josephus *Jud. Bell.* iv. 9 § 2=§ 499 Naber. H. Browne *loc. cit.* has confused the reigns of Galba and Otho.

<sup>2</sup> The short list has 10 years; read here  $\theta'$  for  $\iota\alpha'$ , as H. Browne also suggested *loc. cit.* p. 335.

<sup>3</sup> Reading, after  $\mu\eta\nu\alpha\beta'$ ,  $\dot{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\kappa\beta'$ .

<sup>4</sup> Omit  $\mu\eta\nu\alpha\eta'$ .

<sup>5</sup> It is not certain what day Trajan died.

<sup>6</sup> Reading  $\varsigma'$  for  $\gamma'$ , and  $\iota\varsigma'$  for  $\iota\epsilon'$ .

<sup>7</sup> Reading  $\varsigma'$  for  $\gamma'$ , and  $\kappa\theta'$  for  $\varsigma'$ .

<sup>8</sup> 'The Augustan section of the well-known "Astronomical Canon," differing however by the insertion of one year for the reigns of Galba, Otho and Vitellius.' H. Browne.

<sup>9</sup> Whiston's Translation of Josephus 1849, page 406.

Clement is not using the Alexandrine year, but the Egyptian, and more, that he is using the Egyptian in the way previously supposed by us—that is, he takes the Roman dating or the fixed dating of the priest's cycle-year and converts it into the Egyptian of the time when he is writing. For 1 Thoth fell on July 10th for the first time in 175 A.D., so that the length given to Adrian's reign must be calculated by Clement in the way I have indicated.

We could use this to shew when Clement was writing—after 175 A.D. as we have just seen, and before 215 A.D. because 1 Thoth must not be earlier than July 1st, as appears from the length assigned to Vespasian's reign.

Clement's list is as follows: Augustus 43, Tiberius 22, Gaius 4, Claudius 14, Nero 14, Galba<sup>1</sup> 1, Vespasian 10, Titus 3, Domitian 15, Nerva 1, Trajan 19, Adrian 21, Antoninus 23<sup>2</sup>, Antoninus and Commodus together 32. An examination of this list and comparison of it with the dates given on pages 237, 238 will shew that it is doubtful if this supposed peculiarity exists in fact. Trajan should have 20 years not 19, unless indeed the Alexandrine notation is Clement's, so that 1 Thoth falls on 29 August. But then Augustus' reign should contain 44 Thoth New Year's Days,—if we are not to suppose that, the Alexandrine not being introduced till 26 b.c., Clement uses the Egyptian notation for b.c. 30—Nero's 14 years too would then be wrong. To confine ourselves again, therefore, to certain conclusions, we must only say that the short list gives us no clear evidence as to Clement's notation, but that if Trajan's 19 years can be supposed to be a misreading, the list would support the contention that Clement uses the Egyptian year<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> It should be pointed out however that if Nero is to be credited with fourteen recurrences of 1 Thoth, Galba like Otho and Vitellius should have none: but this period is too confused for us to argue definitively about it. The Ptolemaean Canon also gives Galba 1 year; see W. Whiston's Trans. of Josephus, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> So we must read for the MS. 21. This is shewn to be a correct emenda-

tion by the fact that Clement adds  
*γίνεται τὰ πάντα ἀπὸ Αὐγούστου ἕως  
Κοινόδου ἔτη σκβ' = 222.*

<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to observe that for Clement at any rate this short list disposes of what Mr C. H. Turner (Hastings' *Dict. of Bible* 1. p. 403, col. 2, note) calls the general rule of ancient calculations, i.e. that 37 years is not 37 years or something over but 37 years or something less.

## II. THE GOSPEL DATES.

§ 1. *Good Friday, April 7th A.D. 30.*

Let us examine the dates given for Good Friday. If they are interpreted as Egyptian dates, they must be datings either according to the Calendar at the time of the Crucifixion, or at the time perhaps of Basileides<sup>1</sup> (who seems to have worked out many of these calculations) or of Clement himself. We thus should have as possible dates to be considered:

- (i) by the Alexandrine reckoning, March 21, April 20, April 14.
- (ii) by the Egyptian reckoning—in 26, or 27 A.D., March 9, April 8, April 2; in 28 to 31 A.D., March 8, April 7, April 1; in 32 or 33 A.D., March 7, April 6, March 31.
- (iii) in Basileides' day, February 13, March 15, March 9—all hopelessly before the equinox; and by Clement's date, they are worse still: so that this interpretation of the dates may be rejected.

At once two of the datings attract our notice as being a month apart. They may be guessed therefore with certainty to be alternative determinations of the Passover date<sup>2</sup>, one before<sup>3</sup>, one after the equinox—unless they are calculations for different years.

<sup>1</sup> For the date of Basileides (given by Mr P. Smith as about 120 till after 138 A.D. in Smith's *Dict. of G. and L. Biogr.*) cf. Clem. *Strom.* 7. 17 §§ 106, 7 Klotz (=Page 325 Sylb.; Pages 898, 899 Potter) περὶ τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως χρόνους οἱ τὰς αἱρέσεις ἐπινοήσαντες γεγόνασι καὶ μέχρι γε τῆς Ἀντωνίου τοῦ πρεσβύτερου διέτεων ἡλικίας καθάπερ δὲ Βασιλείδης καὶ Ἰλανκίαν ἐπιγράφηται διδάσκαλον, ὡς αὐχοῦντι αὐτῷ, τὸν Πέτρον ἐρμηνέα. Ὄσαντας δὲ καὶ Οὐαλεντίνος Θεοδάδι ἀκηκόαντι φέρουσιν, γνώμοις δὲ οὗτος ἐγεγόνει Παῦλον. Μαρκίων γάρ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτοῖς ἡλικίαν γενόμενος ὡς πρεσβύτερος νεωτέ-

ροις συνεγένετο. Μεθ' ὅν Σήμων ἐπ' ὀδηγοὺς κηρύσσοντος (this must refer to the book *The Preaching of Peter*) τοῦ Πέτρου ὑπήκουεν. Ὡν οὖτις ἔχόντων συμφανὲς ἐκ τῆς προγενεστάτης καὶ ἀληθεστάτης ἐκκλησίας τὰς μεταγενεστάτας ταύτας καὶ τὰς ἔτι τούτων ὑποβεβηκυας τῷ χρόνῳ κεκαινογομῆσθαι παραχαραχθεσας αἱρέσεις.

<sup>2</sup> We must notice that being 30 days apart, they could not in any case both be Friday.

<sup>3</sup> For the possibility of the Passover being before the equinox see Anatolius quoted by Eusebius *H. E.* vii. 32.

Let us now put down, at any rate roughly, on what days the full moons fell in these years:

|    |   |                           |
|----|---|---------------------------|
| 26 | New Moon 7 March 19h. 27' (=21h. 47' for Jerusalem),                      | 6 April 4h. 24'           |
|    | (=6h. 44')  |                           |
| 27 | { New Moon 25 February 5h. 4' (=7h. 24'): full moon                       |                           |
|    | { <sup>a</sup> 11 March 4h. 36' (=6h. 56'), 9 April 16h. 19' (=18h. 39'). |                           |
| 28 | New Moon 15 March 0h. 18' (=2h. 38').                                     |                           |
| 29 | New Moon 2 April (=19h. 28')  | Full 17 April (=5h. 17'). |
| 30 | New Moon 22 March (=19h. 48')   | Full 6 April (=22h. 18')  |
| 31 | New Moon 12 March (=0h. 36')  | Full 27 March (=13h. 25') |
| 32 | New Moon 29 March (=22h. 21')   | Full 14 April (=11h. 6')  |
| 33 | New Moon 19 March (=18h. 7')  | Full 3 April (=16h. 39')  |

From this it will appear that the following combinations only deserve further consideration:—

(i) Alexandrine reckoning—26 A.D. March 21, April 20; and 32 A.D. April 14.

(ii) Egyptian reckoning—27 A.D. March 9, April 8; 30 A.D. March 8, April 7.

Of these A.D. 26, March 21st is Thursday, April 20th Saturday; A.D. 32, April 14th is Monday; A.D. 27, March 9th is Sunday, April 8th Tuesday; A.D. 30 March 8th Wednesday, April 7th Friday.

Of course it may be the case that all these dates are astronomical calculations by Egyptian scholars of Passover dates (reckoned as Anatolius for example reckons from the true new moon), without any regard for the date of the week. It might in this case happen that the actual<sup>a</sup> Jewish Passover was on a different day to that estimated by these scholars, and in any case that these scholars had not concerned themselves with the question whether their dates were reconcilable with the fact of the Crucifixion occurring on Friday. However, on the one hand the disagreement between actual and estimated Passover could not be very great (for Philo tells us Nisan 14 is

<sup>1</sup> I give this year, because if Clement does reckon Tiberius' reign from A.D. 10, he may mean this date by the 26th year. Cf. the long list pages 237, 238 and the 25th year for the Baptism.

<sup>2</sup> At this time the equinox is vibrating between about 2 a.m. and

8 p.m. on 22 March.

<sup>3</sup> C. H. Turner in *The Church Quarterly Review*, vol. xxxiii. no. 66, Jan. 1892, pp. 395—400 is inclined to find a traditional date in 18 March 29 A.D.; but see p. 244.

when the moon is at point to be full, Nisan 15 when it is full), and *the actual Passover would be later than the estimated*<sup>1</sup>. Thus this explanation could only avail for March 21st Thursday A.D. 26, and perhaps March 8th Wednesday A.D. 30. Calculation shews that the full moon in March 26 A.D. was 21 March, 21<sup>h</sup> 21' (= 23<sup>h</sup> 41' for Jerusalem), and in March 30 A.D. on 8 March, 20<sup>h</sup> 54' (= 23<sup>h</sup> 14' for Jerusalem). On the other hand unless these scholars' dates allow the Passover on Friday night, or at worst Thursday night, they cannot be the correct date for the Crucifixion. Thus as far as these conditions are concerned, the dates in 27 A.D. can only be accepted as erroneous calculations by scholars, since they do not satisfy the Friday test; April 7th, 30 A.D. may be true, and if so, March 8th is an astronomer's calculation disregarding the day of the week; March 22nd, 26 A.D. might, as far as Clement is concerned, be the Crucifixion Friday; April 20th would then be an astronomer's calculation, as also April 13th, 32 A.D. For the moment it will suffice to say that if we are to get meaning out of Clement's other dates, we must reject these Alexandrine dates; in any case we could hardly believe 26 A.D. possible for the Crucifixion because of St Luke's dating of the Baptism (iii. 23); on the other hand, if we accept these dates as Egyptian, we cannot, it is true, regard them as traditional or historical relics, but April 7th, 30 A.D. may be taken as a date satisfying them and the other conditions of the problem.

We can then hardly hesitate to accept the last date, 25 Pharnuthi = April 7th, 30 A.D. as the actual date of the Crucifixion: 25 Phamenoth = March 8th will probably be another erroneous calculation, giving the Passover before<sup>2</sup> the equinox. It is true that *a priori* we should expect this difference as to the month of the Passover to arise in such a case as A.D. 26, where March 21st is barely before the equinox, which in that year

<sup>1</sup> But see Turner, *loc. cit.* pp. 393—4.

<sup>2</sup> I take this to have been a possibility (in the absence of evidence) in our Lord's age, but the tradition that the Crucifixion was on Friday and the Passover either Thursday or Friday

night seems decisive against thinking it the actual date. H. Browne p. 334 explains 25 Phamenoth as erroneously derived from an addition of 354 days to the Passover-date of 29 A.D. which he thinks the true date.

fell on March 22nd, but although that day is Thursday 3 a.m. to Friday 3 a.m., the evidence is all against the Passover having been on Maundy Thursday<sup>1</sup> night. One other point may be considered. It is possible that the date which gives a Sunday is the date for Easter, so that the Crucifixion will thus be supposed to be two days earlier—A.D. 27, March 7th. But this seems hardly possible astronomically as a Passover date: it is put out of court by the fact that if we are to suppose Easter Sunday given by it as March 9th, we can make nothing of the alternative date a month later, and the Passover cannot have been on Friday, three days before the full moon.

To sum up then, the possibilities of the case seem to be these:

(i) If Clement uses Alexandrine reckoning, the calculators he refers to put the Crucifixion in A.D. 26 mostly—some giving March 21st, a Thursday perhaps, for the Passover—others giving April 20th, Saturday—some again put it in A.D. 32, and gave April 14th. This, though lamely, interprets Pharnuthi 19 at once.

(ii) If Clement gives Egyptian reckoning, the Crucifixion

<sup>1</sup> Besides other reasons, how can Pentecost that year otherwise have fallen on Sunday? Cf. *Josephus Jud. Bell. ii. 3 § 1* (§ 42, p. 149, Naber vol. 5) ἐνστάσης τῇ πεντηκοστῇ (οὕτα καλούσι τινα ἑορτὴν Ἰουδαῖοι παρ' ἑταγμομένην ἐβδομάδας, κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἡμερῶν προσηγορίαν ἔχονταν).

The following fragment from Clement's *de paschae* quoted at second-hand by Petavius *Uranologium* p. 399 is important (Klotz *Clement* vol. iv. p. 75):—

Τοῖς μὲν οὖν παρεληλυθόσιν ἔτεσι τὸ θυντημένον πρὸς Ἰουδαῖον ἡσθιεν ἑορτάζων ὁ Κύριος πάσχα. Ἐπει δ' ἐκήρυξεν αὐτὸς ὡν τὸ πάσχα δὲ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς πρέβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἀγέμενος αὐτίκα ἐβίβαξε μὲν τοὺς μαθητὰς τοῦ τόπου τὸ μισθήμα τῇ τι, ἐν ἥ καὶ πυνθάνονται αὐτοθ, ποὺ θέλεις ἐτοιμάσωμέν σοι τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν;

ταῦτη οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ὁ ἀγιασμὸς τῶν ἀζύμων καὶ ἡ προετοιμασία τῆς ἑορτῆς ἐγίνετο. Ὁθεν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰκότας ὡσὰν προετοιμαζομένους ἥδη ἀποκύπασθαι τοὺς πόδας πρὸς τοῦ Κυρίου τοὺς μαθητὰς ἀναγράφει. Πέπονθε δὲ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ὁ Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ὡν τὸ πάσχα καλλιερευθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.....

Ἀκολούθως ἀρα τῇ ιδ', ὅτε καὶ ἐπαθεν, ἔωθεν αὐτὸν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς τῷ Πιλάτῳ προσάγοντες οὐκ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸ πρωτάριον, ἵνα μὴ μανθῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἀκωλύτως ἐσπέρας τὸ πάσχα φάγωσι. Ταύτη τῶν ἡμερῶν τῇ ἀκριβείᾳ καὶ αἱ γραφαὶ πάσαι συμφωνοῦσι καὶ τὰ εὐαγγέλια σιωφάδα. Ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις τῇ γοῦν τρίτῃ ἀνέστη ἡμέρᾳ, ἣτις ἐν πρώτῃ τῶν ἐβδομάτων τοῦ θερισμοῦ, ἐν ἥ καὶ τὸ δράγμα ἐνομοθετεῖτο προενεγκεῖν τὸν ιερέα.

was in A.D. 30, on April 7th<sup>1</sup>, Friday; some calculators—presumably working from a disorganized calendar come into vogue among the Jews after the destruction of the Temple—put it on March 8th, Wednesday (or just possibly put it in A.D. 27 on March 7th).

Accepting then 7 April, 30 A.D. as the correct date, and taking Clement's time-notation to be Egyptian<sup>2</sup>, we still have to explain the third date he gives, Pharmuthi 19. I had suggested that this was the date in the Egyptian calendar of Basileides' time (124—128 A.D.) for Phamenoth 25. But H. Browne suggests (*loc. cit.* p. 334) that we should read  $\Phi\alpha\mu\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\iota}\theta'$ , rejecting the iota of the numeral as derived from the final iota of  $\Phi\alpha\mu\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\iota}$ . This date he interprets as in the vague year, and therefore = March 22, which, he adds, is precisely the day assigned to the Crucifixion in the synodical letter (ap. Bed. *de Aequinoct.*) of the Council of Caesarea in Palestine (cf. Eus. *H. E.* v. 23), held in A.D. 195, i.e. in Clement's own times. He gives no further explanation: but it is tempting to regard it as a surviving testimony to an early theory that the Crucifixion was on 22 March, 26 A.D., which was a Friday and is astronomically correct. Unfortunately the date in 26 A.D. is March 23, and besides, according to S. Luke iii. 1, it would only allow three months for the Lord's Ministry, and this contradicts S. John. But that at first some scholars held to a three months' Ministry, we have seen to be not improbable (p. 234, note).

Leaving Clement, we find a number of authors<sup>3</sup> giving March 25th as the date of the Crucifixion, sometimes adding that the year is A.D. 29. Mr C. H. Turner has ventured to deduce from this that the true date for the Crucifixion was March 18th in that year, on the twofold ground that Epiphanius attests that there was at one time an alternative reading to March 25th, and that March 18th is, as he thinks, astronomically

<sup>1</sup> This evidence should strengthen the case for the date, as stated by J. B. McClellan *New Testament* vol. I. pp. 473—494.

<sup>2</sup> It must be borne in mind through-

out that the Jewish day begins at sunset, the Egyptian at about 3 a.m.

<sup>3</sup> So Tertullian, Hippolytus, Liberian Chronicle (354 A.D.).

correct<sup>1</sup>. But there can be no doubt that this also is only a calculation, not a tradition—a calculation which probably owes its wide vogue to Hippolytus<sup>2</sup>. Were it well founded, it would be surprising that the Alexandrian scholars had not suggested it. But besides this there is some indication that there was an older calculation still of March 21st or 22nd as the Crucifixion date.

I have myself found how difficult it is to arrive at a position from which one can judge the correctness of a writer's deductions from his authorities, when he merely gives a reference to them, or quotes a few words, so that I prefer to quote in full all that is relevant in the authorities.

Epiphanius writes *haeres.*<sup>3</sup> 50 (quartodecimans) num. 1:—  
 Ἐτεροι δὲ...ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκτῶν δῆθεν Πιλάτου αὐχούσι τὴν ἀκριβείαν εύρηκεναι, ἐν οἷς ἐμφέρεται τῇ πρὸ ὀκτὼ καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων τὸν Σωτῆρα πεπονθέναι...ἔτι δὲ εὑρομεν ἀντίγραφα ἐκ τῶν Πιλάτου ἐν οἷς σημαίνει πρὸ δεκάπεντε<sup>4</sup> καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων τὸ πάθος γεγενῆσθαι.

But it is to be noticed that in a MS. at Giessen published<sup>5</sup> in Schmidt's *bibliotheca critica et exegistica Novi Test. II.* 1 p. 508 sqq. we have:—Factum est in nonodecimo tyberii caesaris imperatoris romanorum et herodis filii herodis imperatoris galilee, anno nono decimo principatus eius VIII Kal. April. quod est XXV die marci, consulibus basso et tarquilio,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 241, where it may be added that the full moon was on 18 March 19<sup>h</sup> 1' (= 21<sup>h</sup> 21' at Jerusalem). Cf. also p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> See W. Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, art. Hippolytus by Prof. G. Salmon, vol. II. p. 92, col. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Tischendorf *Evangelia Apocrypha* 1876, p. LXV.

<sup>4</sup> It was a Western rule that if the full moon fell on Saturday, Easter Sunday should be the next day week. Cf. Prof. G. Salmon in Smith's *Dict. of Christian Biography*, art. Hippolytus. Cf. also p. 250 however. In this I should be inclined to find an explana-

tion of 27 March being made Easter Sunday, and then by inference 25 March Good Friday. But see C. H. Turner *Studio Bibl.* vol. cit. p. 134. In such recklessness of revising dates as these later ecclesiastics seem to have possessed, it may be asked whether both this Crucifixion date 25 March and that for Christmas 25 December do not come from a confusion of Kalends with Ides: this being truly VIII Id. Aprilis=April 6th, Maundy Thursday, A.D. 30, and that VIII Id. Jan.=Jan. 6th, the Baptism.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted by Tischendorf, *op. cit.* p. LXXV.

anno quarto ducentesima secunda olimpiade sub principibus sacerdotum iudeorum ioseph et anne et caiphe, *quarta die post crucem* et passionem domini hystoriatus est nichodemus....

Are we to suppose that this springs from the erroneous calculation <sup>1</sup> 21<sup>1</sup> March, A.D. 26, in which case Clement must after all use the Alexandrian notation and the date will be valueless? or from a later misunderstanding of Pharmuthi 25, when the Alexandrine calendar had become regnant? Or is it the counterpart of that calculation which gives 25 March for the Crucifixion because that is supposed to be the day of the equinox? It seems best to reckon inclusively, so that 22 March is here again the date of the Crucifixion.

It should be noted that apart from differences in the statement of the year of the Crucifixion due to varying calculations, there may not improbably be some difference due to various dating of the beginning of Tiberius' reign. Thus if Clement is using Alexandrian notation, and therefore means March A.D. 26 to be in the 16th year of Tiberius, his text may be sound when he gives Tiberius 26 years' sovereignty<sup>2</sup>. And we find

Origen and                           } giving Tiberius' 15th year for the  
Tertullian<sup>3</sup> *adv. Jud.* 8 } Crucifixion.

Orosius the 17th.

Hippolytus<sup>4</sup>, 4th Book on Daniel, p. 19, l. 2, the 18th.

Eusebius (perhaps to get in Phlegon's eclipse), the 19th.

Orosius preferring the 20th.

## § 2. *Christmas, April 14th or 15th B.C. 5.*

Again we find Clement's specialists pronouncing in favour of Pachon<sup>5</sup> 25th as the date of the Nativity; and some—of the

<sup>1</sup> Lactantius gives 23 March. Is this the Easter Sunday, two days later? or a supposed Good Friday before a supposed Easter on 25 March?

<sup>2</sup> So he seems to give Galba's reign as beginning before Nero's ends.

<sup>3</sup> But Tertullian makes this 29 A.D.

<sup>4</sup> Hippolytus makes this 29 A.D., giving as consuls Rufus and Rubellius.

<sup>5</sup> H. Browne, p. 334, writes: 'These dates I am unable to explain,' but he also rightly saw that they were dates of the vague year. He interprets τῷ

Basileideans apparently—giving Pharmuthi 24 or 25. It is possible that, as with the date of the Crucifixion, so here we have two calculations backwards of a Jewish date, with consequent uncertainty whether there was an intercalated Ve-adar or not. But if we are to take them as *bona fide* dates, it is interesting to find that if the Nativity were 24 Pharmuthi, 5—1 B.C., this would be 25 Pachon, 120—124. This resemblance to the result we attain from the Crucifixion dates is the more striking, that it is not associated with a fixed interval between the two sets of dates we thus reconcile: in the one case 31 days intervene, in the case of the Crucifixion-dates, 24 days. As will be seen below, this coincidence, whatever its value by itself, is immeasurably strengthened by what we find in Epiphanius, who again gives a new date, but a date that can find its origin in Pharmuthi 24 = 14 April, B.C. 5—1.

It now only remains to see if with the knowledge of the day and month of Birth and Passover, we can determine the year, and so test our conclusions by the Canonical Gospels.

We have seen that the Birth-date will reconcile with an alternative date in Basileides' time, if the year is about 5 B.C. But further, even if the Passion were in 27<sup>1</sup>, the Baptism must be in December 25 A.D. at least, and as we cannot go further back without contradicting S. Luke<sup>2</sup>, we may

ἀγέδωφ καὶ εἰκοστῷ ἔτει as the 28th year of the Alexandrians, but why not of Augustus' reign?

<sup>1</sup> The Alexandrine interpretation which would bring it to 26 A.D. will not help us, because then the Birth-date would presumably be Alexandrine too (April 19) and be unchanging. Even with 9 Pharmuthi 26 A.D. the Baptism must be in Dec. 25 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> St Luke iii. 1 writes ἐν ἔτει δὲ πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τίβεριον Καίσαρος, ἡγεμονεύοντος Ποντίου Πειλάτος τῆς Ἰουδαίας. With this compare Josephus *Antiqui.* xviii. 2 § 2 (§ 31 p. 141, vol. 4, Naber) διαδέχεται δὲ καὶ τοῦτον Ἀννιος Ῥοῦφος, ἐφ' οὐδὲν καὶ

τελευτῇ Καίσαρ, δεύτερος μὲν Ἐρωματιον αὐτοκράτωρ γενόμενος, ἐπτά δὲ καὶ πεντήκοντα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτη, πρὸς οὓς μῆνες ἐξ ἡμέρων δυοῖν πλεῖστοι (τούτον δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ χρόνου τετταρεσκαίδεκ' ἔτη συνήρχεν Ἀντώνιος), βιώσας ἔτη ἐπτά καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα.....καὶ πεντήδευτος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (sc. Tiberius) παρῆν Ἰουδαίοις ἐπαρχος.....Οδαλέριος Γράτος.....καὶ Γράτος μὲν.....εἰς Ἐρώμην ἐπαναχωρεῖ ἔνδεκ' ἔτη διατρίψας ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ, Πόντιος δὲ Πιλάτος διάδοχος αὐτῷ ἦκεν (cf. *Jewish War* ii. 9 § 1=Naber § 168, vol. 5), and xviii. 4 § 2 (§ 89, p. 152, vol. 4, Naber) Πιλάτος δέκ' ἔτεσιν διατρίψας ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας εἰς Ἐρώμην ἡπειρυγετο.....πρὶν δ' ἡ τῆς Ἐρώμης προσσχεῖν αὐτὸν, φθάνει Τίβε-

accept that date or the same month in 26, 27, 28 or even perhaps 29 as correct. The Birth will then be not earlier than December, 6 B.C., if at the Baptism our Lord was exactly 30 years of age. It would be possible of course to place the date at April, 4, 3, or 2 B.C., but there is a reason for making it 5 or 1 B.C. We can then explain the alternative Pharmuthi 24, as due to the year being a leap year. To determine our choice between 5 and 1 B.C. we have on the one hand the statements of the Canonical Gospels that Herod was alive, on the other, the temptation to bring our date for Basileides to what we have determined from the Passion-dates: to satisfy 5 B.C., Basileides' date would be 120—124 A.D., to satisfy 1 B.C. and the Passion-date, 124—128 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

We come now to the statement of the length of time between the Nativity and the death of Commodus, 194<sup>y</sup> 1<sup>m</sup> 13<sup>d</sup>. Disregarding the years<sup>2</sup>—for we can easily see how Clement arrives at the years, by deduction from S. Luke iii. 23, no from knowledge or tradition—we arrive at November 18 as the date of the Nativity. Can this be reconciled in any way with the dates given by Clement in the rest of the passage? Not, certainly, if we reckon as has commonly been done—but let it be converted into the Egyptian year, then November 17 = Tubi 15 from 188—192<sup>3</sup>. Commodus died December 31st 192.

*πιος μεταστάς.* § 3 (§ 90, Naber) Οὐετέλλιος δ' εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀφικόμενος ἐπὶ Τεροσολύμων ἀνήγε, καὶ (ἢ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐόρτῃ, πάσχα δὲ καλεῖται)....

<sup>1</sup> H. Browne *loc. cit.* gives a most ingenious explanation of the origin of the diverse datings of the Baptism. If (as he shews and as will appear from this paper to have been the case) the Baptism and Nativity were confused (supposed to be the same day, as Clement indeed is contemptuously willing to assume them), 11 Tubi is the fixed Alexandrine dating of vague Tubi 16 in B.C. 2 (he has taken the liberty of thinking to argue as if he had this not Tubi 15 because he wanted to harmonize the date with the interval given, 194<sup>y</sup> 1<sup>m</sup> 13<sup>d</sup>, till Com-

modus' death), and—to correct his figures—11 Tubi is the fixed date answering to vague Tubi 15 in the four years from August 9 B.C. to August 5 B.C. If then we use this test to discover the year of the Nativity we arrive at April 5 B.C. as alone the possible true Nativity-date, and regard either Tubi 11 (or Tubi 15 just possibly) as a date arisen among those who gave an exact 30 years from the Nativity to the Baptism (cf. p. 249, note 2).

<sup>2</sup> If the dates which I have tried to establish are correct, either Clement is in error, or for δ' = 4 we should read γ' = 6.

<sup>3</sup> For the apparent variation of one day, we must remember that the

But Tubi 15 is given by Clement himself as the day of the Baptism, and we can see that the two feasts are constantly confused<sup>1</sup>.

§ 3. *The Baptism, December 29, A.D. 25 or 26<sup>2</sup>.*

Turn we now to the dates of the Baptism, Tubi 15 (or 11). In A.D. 25, 26, or 27, these dates are equal to December 29 (or 25). As I have tried to demonstrate, these dates harmonize with Clement's reckoning of the interval between the Nativity and Commodus' death—if we suppose the usual confusion between the Nativity-feast and the Baptism. But there is further evidence. Were both these dates in Tubi to be interpreted as dates of the Alexandrine calendar—as has hitherto been done—so that their lineal representatives are an otherwise unknown January 10 and Tubi 11 (i.e. Jan. 6) of the *Apostolic Constitutions* and other later authorities, who give it for the date of the Nativity, we might be puzzled to explain how Epiphanius' statements could also be descended from such an original. He tells us that the Baptism was *κατ' Αἰγυπτίους Ἀθύρ δωδεκάτη πρὸ ἐξ εἰδῶν Νοεμβρίου*, and the Nativity<sup>3</sup> *πρὸ ὀκτὼ εἰδῶν Ἰανουαρίου κατ' Αἰγυπτίους Τυβὶ ἐνδεκάτῃ*. But if the original date of the Nativity was as I have suggested 24 Pharmuthi, -B.C. 5, i.e. April 14th, this would become January 6 (Tubi 11 of Alexandrians) in the years 388—392,

Egyptian day continues into the following English and Roman day; whereas the Alexandrine notation apparently is content to give the equivalent for the following day, and includes the preceding midnight. Cf. C. H. Turner in *Studia Biblica*, Oxon. vol. II. p. 142 and *infra* p. 251.

<sup>1</sup> H. Browne, *loc. cit.* p. 329, gives substantially the same interpretation.

<sup>2</sup> S. Luke iii. 23 says the Baptism was in Tiberius' 15th year. This is generally supposed to mean A.D. March 26 to Feb. 27 (J. B. McClellan, *op. cit.* pp. 402—406), but Ramsay, *Was Christ &c.* p. 221, gives reason for supposing

the 15th year to begin 25 A.D., either Jan. 1st, September 23rd or April 18th. Thus we may for the present accept 29 December in 25 or 26 A.D. as the date of the Baptism, until further evidence comes to light. H. Browne naturally makes *τῷ πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει* begin August A.D. 28. But he has made a miscalculation when he gives (besides his explanation referred to p. 248, note 1) 11 Tubi vague = 25 December A.D. 28. It has this value in the four years August 24 to 28 August.

<sup>3</sup> Epiphanius says also *πέμπτῃ Ἰανουαρίου ἑσπέρᾳ εἰς ἔκτην ἐπιφώσκουσα*.

and Epiphanius' date is given as circ. 375<sup>1</sup>. But what of the November date for the Baptism? I feel no certainty here, but suggest with doubt that just as Tubi 15 had in Clement's day rolled round from December 29 to November 18, so by Hippolytus' date it had become November 8 (A.D. 232), and—being no longer observed<sup>2</sup> in practice—was reproduced from Hippolytus by Epiphanius<sup>3</sup>.

#### § 4. *Later Evidence.*

To take a final test from the Fathers. The *Apostolic Constitutions* give the Nativity as Choiak 28, *πρὸς ὁκτὼ Καλανδῶν Ἰανουαρίων*; the Baptism as Tubi 11; the Passion Phamenoth 29. Again we see reason here to reject the current method of interpreting Clement's dates: for if he used the Alexandrian calendar, why should the Nativity become Choiak 28—especially when Epiphanius, who does use that calendar, gives 12 Athyr for the Baptism, 11 Tubi for the Nativity?

We may notice the following points:—

(i) The Passion-date varying from year to year, the original date as determined by the scholars, either from astronomical calculations or an Easter Cycle, is repeated (even if the calendar is changed), for it is not required for liturgical observance. Perhaps this may explain the date March 25 for the Passion—it is Phamenoth 29, mistakenly supposed to be a date in the Alexandrian calendar; but it is more probably an indication of the widespread influence upon the East of Hippolytus' calculations<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> But see also p. 248, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> As will be seen below p. 251 the Baptism date of later ages was not a descendant of this primitive tradition or calculation, but a confusion with the Nativity.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. below for Hippolytus' influence in the East, and see Prof. G. Salmon, art. Hippolytus in *Dict. of Christ. Biography*. If Hippolytus dated the Baptism Tubi 11, this would be 8

November in 216—20 A.D. That he did take this alternative is perhaps supported by the practice of the Romans later; cf. p. 251.

<sup>4</sup> It is true Mr Turner (*Dict. of Bible*, p. 415, col. 1) argues that as [Tertullian] *adv. Jud.* 8 and Hippolytus *Comm. in Dan.* give this date, it cannot be derived from Hippolytus' *Paschal Cycle*. But it is obvious that the calculation would not be made in

(ii) Other dates, as Christmas and the Baptism, which would not vary from year to year, would when once calculated be continued in the Egyptian Church on the same day in their calendar. Thus in Epiphanius' day the Nativity had come to be observed on the Roman January 6th (the Baptism date which was the original Tubi 15 should have been in August, but I suppose its observance to have died out). The Romans however had taken over the alternative Baptism-day—Tubi 11 = December 25, and, by the same confusion as we see in Clement, observed it as the Birthday of the Lord. A conflict followed; and the matter was compromised<sup>1</sup> by adopting the Roman Birth-date, and taking the Eastern date for an Epiphany date—the change being probably helped in the East by the fact that this was Tubi 11 in the now accepted Alexandrine or Augustan calendar.

### § 5. *The Gospels.*

Do these dates satisfy all the facts? They satisfy S. Luke if we accept Ramsay's conclusion<sup>2</sup> that Tiberius' 15th year

221 A.D., first, and perhaps not first by Hippolytus.

<sup>1</sup> S. Chrysostom's remarks (*Hom. in Diem Natalem* ii. Col. 351 quoted by McClellan *op. cit.* p. 407/8) of A.D. 386 shew that December 25 had not then been adopted ten years in the East. The rest of his statement—that the Romans had verified the date in their archives—may be put down as a preacher's rhetoric.

<sup>2</sup> Since the consensus of workers is what establishes a theory, I may perhaps be permitted to say that the recovery of evidence carrying back the Provincial Census led me also immediately to work back to an early date for the Nativity—I placed it between 9 and 5 B.C. from the Clementine dates and the Census calculation. A friend who saw my work then brought Ramsay's book to my notice. I suppose

this first—preliminary—census to have taken longer than subsequent ones to carry out: so that not before the spring of 5 B.C. did Joseph and Mary need to go up to Bethlehem. As Saturninus was in Syria from the summer of 9 or 8 till the summer of 7 B.C. when Varus succeeded him to remain till 4 B.C. summer, that will explain Tertullian's remark (*Adv. Marc.* iv. 19).

It is to be noticed that this remark of Tertullian seems to leave us with but two hypotheses possible: either that S. Luke's text as we have it is here subsequent to or unknown to Tertullian—an unlikely hypothesis considering what we know of Marcion against whom he is here writing—or Tertullian did not understand S. Luke to mean what moderns do. (But see Ramsay, p. 244.) Is it permissible to read *αὐτὴν η διπογραφή*, or to interpret

runs from some time in 25 to December 25 or even into 26<sup>1</sup>. They satisfy Clement in every respect but one—that he reckons 42 years from the Crucifixion to the Fall of Jerusalem: but as 28 A.D. would be quite incorrigible as a date for the Passion, when we tried to adapt it to his dates for the Passover, we need not be careful in the matter, and especially as he so evidently sets himself to make the years of the Lord's life chime with his mistaken recollections of S. Luke.

As to all the other datings given in the Fathers, it is tolerably evident that they are not independent evidence, but mere varieties of expression for certain dates determined by calculation<sup>2</sup>, not preserved by tradition: and therefore there can be little doubt that the dates of the Church of Egypt, the home of sound astronomy and the centre of learning, are to be preferred.

#### T. NICKLIN.

the present text thus:—"This census for which Augustus thus sent out orders and Herod made preparations was however only carried out when Quirinius was proconsul of Syria, and it was the first ever held in Judaea"?

We thus get time for the orderly Purification in the Temple, Visit of the Magi, Sojourn in Egypt—all before Herod's death in April 4 B.C. (cf. S. Luke i. 5, S. Matthew ii. 1).

<sup>1</sup> Ramsay, *Was Christ d.c.* p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> Thus Hippolytus in the confidence of his Cycle fixed upon 25 March A.D. 29. See p. 244. At the same time it is but right to say that H. Browne, *loc. cit.* pp. 334—5, argues that the Baptism-dates are derived from two Crucifixion-dates by subtracting 62½ weeks of days, or 62 weeks, on the strength

of Daniel ix. 25. This, as he very truly remarks, was quite in the spirit of the age, and he refers to the discussion in Clement himself in this very passage of Daniel's prophetic periods. But since this paper was written, I had occasion to refer to Godef's commentary on S. John, and a remark of his to the effect that S. John i. 19—ii. 11 gives the narrative of a week, led me to observe that combining this Gospel with the Synoptists we get proof that the Baptism was at any rate about the end of December. For after the Baptism there are (i) at least 40 days, S. Mark i. 13; (ii) seven days, S. John i. 29, 35, 40, 43; ii. 1; (iii) *οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας*, ii. 12; before (iv) the Passover was nigh at hand, ii. 13.

## EMENDATIONS OF VALERIUS FLACCUS<sup>1</sup>.

I 399 sq. uacua nam lapsus ab arbore paruum  
ter quater ardenti tergo circumuenit anguis.

That *uacua* is corrupt is a matter of general agreement. But neither *uasta* Schenkl, nor *patula* Heinsius, nor *uacuum* Damsté, can claim even *prima facie* plausibility; *CVRVA* would be near to the tradition and would give sense, The serpent's weight bowed the tree as Ovid says of the one that Agenor killed, 'pondere serpentis curuata est arbor,' Met. 3. 93; cf. 'curua—arbore,' of a tree loaded with fruit, ib. 5. 536.

II 142 icta genas.

This is a very strange expression and not sufficiently supported by Virgil's 'tunsa pectora palmis.' I conjecture *SCISSA genas*. See below on III 134.

III 133 sqq.

tollitur hinc totusque ruit Tirynthius arcu  
pectore, certa regens aduersa spicula flamma,  
per piceos accensa globos; et pectus harundo  
per medium contenta fugit: ruit ille comanti  
ore facem supra maiorque apparuit ignis.

Phlegyas is waving a torch in the dark, 'arduus et late fumanti  
nube coruscus,' and is shot through the breast by Hercules,  
falling with his beard on the torch's flame, which flares up again.  
The intervening incidents are obscure as the text is corrupt.  
*totus* has already been attacked by Baehrens, whose *tento* is

<sup>1</sup> Most of the following suggestions of Valerius Flaccus in the *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum*.  
have been communicated to Prof.  
Bury for his recently published text

accepted by Langen, who adds 'frustra Loehbach coll. VII 600 *totusque servare conatur.*' How justly, may be seen from the words of the citation: 'inuadit *totusque* incumbit Iason | desuper atque suis defectum flatibus urguit.' Jason is there mastering a bull: Hercules is here launching an arrow. But *ruit*, as it stands, is not less absurd; what marksman that ever lived 'rushed' or 'plunged' *while* he was shooting? Nor *pectore*: which is said to mean that, as the hand was drawn with the cord to the breast, the *breast* guided the aim; and this, although it is obvious that what Valerius represents as 'guiding the aim' is the illumination of the 'aduersa flamma,' as I have indicated by my punctuation. Where everything is so perverse, we can hardly speak of a crowning absurdity: otherwise we might well so describe the current interpretation of *accensa*, 'haec spieula cum per ipsam flammam accendebantur.' That is, the arrow which killed Phlegyas caught fire (from the torch-flame which he held conveniently on a level with the centre of his chest) in the fraction of a second which elapsed before it lodged in his heart, and this by passing through *piceos globos* or clouds of smoke! The fact is that *accensus*, like the English 'lighted,' has two different senses, and the interpreters have pitched on the wrong one. The right sense is that of VIII 115 'nubibus *accensis* similem' = Ap. Rh. IV 126 and V 369 'saeuo cum nox *accenditur auro*'; cf. Sil. 3. 671, 11. 515. *per piceos—globos* are then the black surroundings from which some 'lighted,' i.e. illuminated, object stands out. It was necessary for Hercules' aim that there should be a mark of this kind: he would have been a foolish archer to shoot at a torch-flame. Can we discover what it was? It crossed the straight line to the breast: for through this sped the death-shaft, and it was named in a neuter plural. Only two words can be thought to satisfy these conditions: *cingula*, compare I. 141 'aspera uictor | *cingula sublustri uibrantia detrahit umbra*', and *baltea*, which is to be preferred because of the vicinity of *cingula*. *baltea* then it is probable was in the passage as Silius penned it.

I now return to the first verse, 'tollitur hinc *totusque*.' Baehrens proposed *tento*, which is possible, as it is right in sense. But *hinc* is not wanted (cf. VIII 328), and *infra* 590 sq.

'Tirynthius—*intento* decurrit montibus *arcu*' certainly favours the supposition that here too he wrote *INTENTO*. The not uncommon passage of *in* in MSS. to *hinc* I have illustrated elsewhere, on Manilius v 135 (*Silua Maniliana*, p. 45).

Let us now see if we can restore its sense and approximately its form to the passage. There are two possibilities. The description may be entire. If so, *ruit* will have ousted *PETIT* and would then have come from 136, and *pectore* will have displaced *baltea*. The latter might naturally be thought a violent change. But it must be remembered that the beginnings of other lines in the archetype of our MSS. appear to have suffered injury and to have been patched up by unknown hands with very indifferent success. Thus ii 139 'Velleribus,' the MSS. 'Litoribus,' viii 163 'Tempora' the MSS., which is undoubtedly corrupt, but for the reason I have indicated of uncertain origin. ib. 360 'Nabat' Heinsius, 'Ibat' the MSS. This is my justification for proposing (*Journal of Philology* xxii, p. 312) 'Ilibus' for 'Frigidus' in vi 259; the first two letters were illegible and *-ibus* looked like the adjectival ending *-idus* (cf. 'imbridus' for 'imbribus' at v. 176), and for suggesting that in ii 142 the strange 'icta genas' may have come from *cissa* or *issa*, i.e. 'scissa genas.' But there is another possibility. A line may have been lost, as lines have been lost elsewhere in Valerius Flaccus, and in that case *ruit* may be retained (cf. 'decurrit' already quoted from 591), as *petit* may have had a place in the lost verse. The passage then may have run

tollitur INTENTOQUE ruit Tirynthius arcu  
in latoque petit fulgentia baltea bullis  
pectore, certa regens aduersa spicula flamma,  
per piceos accensa globos.

My suggestion for the form of the lost line is based on Virgil *Aen.* 12. 942 sq. 'infelix umero cum apparuit alto | balteus et notis fulserunt cingula bullis.' Varro *L. L.* 5. 116 derives 'balteum' from 'bullatum.'

III 167 sqq.

leuis ante pedes subsederat Admon :

occupat os barbamque uiri clauamque superne  
 intonat 'occumbes' et 'nunc' ait 'Herculis armis,  
 donum ingens semperque tuis mirabile fatis.' 170

Mr Summers (*A Study etc.*, p. 73) is clearly right in reading *occumbes* for the *occumbens* of V: but his and the vulgate punctuation must be corrected as above. 'donum ingens' &c. is an acc. in apposition to the idea of *occumbes*; Admon's death by the hand of Hercules is a great privilege. *tuis fatis*, if genuine, must be dative, 'to your spirit,' a use of *fata* which is found in Mela (*chor. 2. 2*). But it would make the sequel far more effective if Valerius wrote *SAECLIS* 'your contemporaries.' For it was this boast of Hercules which revealed the hideous truth to Admon's fellow-shades, 'horruit ille cadens, nomenque agnoverat amicum, | primus et ignarus dirum scelus attulit umbris.'

III 227 sq.

ast illum fluuiis et nocte remensa  
 Eumenidum canis et sparsae iuba reppulit hydrae.

For *remensa* Madvig corrected *remersat*, a verb not found elsewhere. The sense is right: but it would be better to read *remersū*, i.e. *REMERSVM*, the participle of *remergo*, which is used by St Augustine. 'Eumenidum canis' and 'sparsae iuba hydrae' refer to the same monster, the hell-hound Cerberus with his ruff or mane of a hundred snaky heads. This use of the 'timeless' participle = 'reppulit remersitque' is characteristic of the poets.

III 556 sqq.

utque artus et concita pectora sudor  
 diluerat, gratos audus procubuit ad amnes.  
 stagna uaga sic luce micant ubi Cynthia caelo  
 prospicit aut medii transit rota candida Phoebi:  
 tale iubar diffundit aquis: nil umbra comaeque 560  
 turbauitque sonus surgentis ad oscula Nymphae.  
 illa auidas innecta manus heu sera carentem  
 auxilia et magni referentem nomen amici  
 detrahit: adiutae prono nam pondere uires.

The subject is the rape of Hylas by the nymph Dryope, 'saeuac

monitu Iunonis' (iv 27). Juno had decoyed Hylas away from Hercules by means of a stag which had stirred his youthful ardour for the chase, led him 'ad nitidi spiracula fontis' and then vanished, 'intactas leuis ipse superfugit undas' (554). When his quarry disappeared, the boy, hot from its pursuit, threw himself down to quench his thirst at the spring. The light (such is the general sense of the next three lines) was playing on its surface, and this prevented him from seeing the nymph as she rose from below. Was this light natural or supernatural? 'Natural' say the editors with the MS.: it was the light of the boy's beauty (*Hylas* is to be supplied) diffused in the water: and an epigram of Agathias (Anth. Pal. 11. 64) on a girl called Rhodanthe looking into a wine vat, *μαρμαρυγή κάλλους νῦμα κατηγλάσεν*, is quoted for this view. But we must be allowed to doubt. First, the parallel is defective in an important respect: *μαρμαρυγή* and *iubar*, *κατηγλάσε* and *diffundit* correspond, but there is nothing to answer to *κάλλους*. Secondly, we find the light here dwelt on with an insistence which is strange if the main point of the comparison is the beauty, however dazzling, of Hylas. *sic luce micant—rota candida Phoebi*. It therefore appears to me not improbable that Valerius wrote *DEA FVNDIT*, the *dea* being Juno who completed her work by shedding on the fountain, which was apparently in a dark pine wood (cf. 'iuga pinea' 521, 'piceae—opacae' 533, 'frondosa per auia' 545), a supernatural light<sup>1</sup>. I do not know if the use of *fundit* will be questioned: it is far less surprising than that of *fusus* in Prop. 2. 16. 24 'candida tam foedo bracechia fusa uiro.' There is a similar corruption of a preposition in Juvenal 6. 172 'et tu, dea, pone sagittas,' *depone* the MSS., corr. Graevius.

## III 645 sqq.

rursum instimulat ducitque fauentes  
magnanimus Calydone satus.

Telamon has been appealing to the Argonauts to wait for their lost Hercules, urging 'non alium contra Aleiden, non *pectora*

<sup>1</sup> As Heinsius conjectured *ceu* for *sic*, it may be as well to point out that *sic* picks up the *nitidi* in 553.

*tanta | posse dari*'; and Meleager leads the opposition<sup>1</sup>. It is hardly credible that Valerius, who was immediately going to speak of him in some such language as this, 'potioribus ille | deteriora fouens semperque inuersa tueri | durus et haud ullis umquam superabilis aequis | rectorumue memor,' should first confer upon him the epithet of *magnanimus*. Add the obscurity and inconcinnity of *fauentes*. The change of a single letter will set all right, *ducitque fauentes | magnanimis*. The Argonauts are taking the side of the absent hero, when Meleager turns them again. The plural is indefinite and therefore here more effective than the singular.

## III 690 sqq.

Talibus Oenides: urget simul incita dictis  
heroum manus. ante omnes Argoa iubebat  
uincla rapi Calais.

The effect of Meleager's oration is here described: but half the force of the description has been lost through a wrong division of words. Read

Talibus Oenidae surgit simul incita dictis  
heroum manus.

The whole audience rises at once to its feet.

## IV 214 sq.

iampridem caestus resides et frigida rariss  
dentibus aret humus.

The second half of this sentence can I suppose just be construed 'the ground is cold and dry because few <bloody> teeth are scattered over it.' But clear or elegant it is not. L is a letter frequently omitted in V: see IV 529, 531, VI 479, and B and R are easily confused. So I would suggest *albet*. There is a similar turn in III 166 sq. 'sparsusque cerebro | albet ager.'

<sup>1</sup> There appears to be no doubt that *Calydone satus* and *Oenides* (inf. 690) mean Meleager, and not Tydeus. Not only is the name of Meleager the first to occur to the mind; but we have already had a significant hint that he posed as another Hercules 1434 'at tibi collectas soluit iam fibula uestes | ostenditque numeros fortes' (cf. *pectora tanta supra*) 'spatiumque superbi | pectoris Herculeis sequum, Meleagre, lacertis.' For the character of Meleager Langen refers to Preller, *Gr. Myth.* II<sup>2</sup> 304 sqq.

iv 348 sqq.

tum pius Oeagri claro de sanguine uates  
 admonitus genetrice refert casusque locorum  
 Inachidosque uias etc.

This is now the vulgate though it comes from Peerlkamp. But it is apparently solecistic. For the abl. can only be used with the passive when *either* the person is regarded as an instrument, e.g. Cicero *pro Milone* 20 'uxore paene constrictus,' or, as in 'coniuge deseror' Ovid *Her.* 12. 161, it is helped out by an idea of removal. Neither is the case here; and V has *admonita*. Read *admonita*<A>.

iv 438 sqq.

nouimus et diuis geniti quibus et uia iussos  
 quae ferat ac uestri rebar sic tempora cursus  
 proxima quaeque legens, quantum Vulcania Lemnos  
 traxerit, infelix tulerit quae Cyzicus arma.

More than one scholar has condemned *rebar sic*: but neither Baehrens's *reputauit* nor Koestlin's *quaerebam* or *respexi* have the least probability. Read *SECTABAR*, which was broken (with slight corruptions) into *sic rebar*, the fragments being afterwards transposed. *sectabar* is used, like *sequebar*, in the sense of following a course with the mind's eye, and accordingly it can be followed by dependent clauses.

v. 185 sqq.

tumulumque uarentia supra  
 flumina cognati medio uidet agmina Phrixi  
 quem comes infelix paruo de marmore iuxta  
 stat soror.

*paruo* is generally condemned, and *Pario*, *pauido* and other suggestions have been made, but nothing that touches the real difficulty. It is clear that there were two statues; but that of Phrixus is not mentioned, though his tomb is in 'tumulum Phrixi.' There must at least be a hint of it in the context, and accordingly I would propose *PARITER de marmore*, i.e. a statue of Helle in marble like that of her brother. *parili* might also be suggested if a parallel for this use of it could be furnished.

## v 223 sqq.

ante dolos ante infidi tamen exsequar astus  
 Soligenae meriti falli meritique relinqui;  
 inde canens, Scythica senior iam Solis ut urbe  
 fata laborati Phrixus compleuerat aei.

So should these lines (in which *V* has *in* for *ut*) be read and punctuated. *inde* gives the point of time from which the narrative is to start, as in Greek *-θεν*; cf. Hom. *Od.* 1. 10 *τῶν ἀμόθεν γέ, θεὰ, θύγατερ Διὸς, εἰπὲ καὶ ήμῖν.* Theocr. 2. 63 *πόθεν τὸν Ἐρωτα δακρύσω;* Mr Bury, accepting my view, reads *cum* for *iam*; but we want *iam*, and *ut* is more like poetical idiom; cf. Hor. *carm.* 4. 4. 42, *epod.* 7. 19.

## v 238 sqq.

praeterea infernae quae nunc sacrata Diana  
 fert castos Medea choros, quaecumque procorum  
 pacta petat, maneat regnis ne uirgo paternis.

More than one passable conjecture has been made in the last two lines, e.g. Burmann's *quicunque*, Heinsius's *neu*. But none is quite satisfactory. Read *petas.* 'Beat up a suitor for your daughter; any one will do: but—get her off your hands.'

## vi 31 tunc gens quaeque suis commisit proelia telis.

*V* has *tunc et*; *gens* is from Meyneke and unquestionably right. But *TVM* is required by euphony and no less by palaeography, *TVG* having been mistaken for *TVC*.

## vi 123 sq.

namque ubi iam uiresque aliae notusque refutat  
 arcus et inceptus iam lancea temnit erilis.

Prof. Ellis, *Classical Review*, 1900, p. 156, rightly questions Langen's *recusat*. But his defence of *refutat* appears inadequate; and *renutat*, Lambinus's correction of *refutat* in *Luer.* 3. 350, is out of place here. I conjecture *RESVLTAT*; the bow leaps back when the old man tries to draw it. For the loss of *l* compare note on IV 215 supra.

## vi 307 sqq.

contra sic uictor adacto  
 ense refert: 'genitor, turpi durare senecta

quem mihi reris adhuc, ipse hac occumbere dextra  
maluit atque ulti segnes abrumpere metas.'

No intelligible sense can be extracted from *metas*. Langen read *telas* 'web.' But the metaphor of 'spinning' not 'weaving' is required in this connexion. I conjecture that *metas* has come from *NETVS*. So rare a word—it is not found again till Martianus Capella (2. 114)—would be very likely to be corrupted. I take this opportunity of observing that in l. 306 the emendation of Koestlin 'et si tibi natus, parce meo,' adopted by Langen, for the MS. 'et sicubi, nato parce meo' is quite mistaken and indeed imports incoherence into the whole passage. It is clear that Aquites is praying for his own life and the words mean 'have pity on the feelings of my son.' The text of the whole passage is the feelings of the son to the father that are in question. Aquites urges the outrage which his murder would do to his son's feelings. His enemy retorts that if his son had had a proper filial feeling, he would have killed his father long ago.

VI 343 sq.

ac simul Oenides pariterque Menoetius et qui  
Bebrycio propius remeauit ab hospite uictor.

For V's *propius* the Bologna edition gives *pollux*, Baehrens *nuper*, Langen *sospes*, no one of which is either vigorous or palaeographically probable. *propius* seems to have arisen from a misunderstanding of an abbreviation of *PRIMVS*.

VI 410 sqq.

non tam foeda uirum Laurentibus agmina terris  
eiecere Noti, Libyco nec talis imago  
litore cum fractas inuoluunt aequora puppes.

*inuoluunt*, 'swallow up,' plainly cannot stand, as the scene is that of shipwrecks *on the shore*; *ADuoluunt* is required. The two prepositions are often confused.

VI 696 sqq.

ipse *pharetratis* residens ad frena tapetis  
nunc leuis infesto procurrit in agmina curru,  
nunc fuga conuersas spargit mentita sagittas.

at uiridem gemmis et Eoae stamine siluae  
 subligat extrema patrium ceruice tiaran, 700  
 insignis manicis, insignis acinace dextro;  
 improba barbaricae procurrunt tegmina plantae.  
 nec latuere diu saeuam spolia illa Syenen;  
 perque leuem et multo maculatam murice tigrin  
 concita cuspis abit: subitos ex ore cruoress 705  
 saucia tigris agit uitamque effundit erilem;  
 ipse puer fracto pronum caput implicat arcu.  
 sanguine tunc atro chlamys ignea, sanguine uultus  
 et grauidae maduere comae quas flore Sabaeo  
 nutrierat liquidoque parens signauerat auro. 710

It was necessary to give in full this description of the death of the Parthian envoy Myraces, as, before we can deal with its difficulties, all its details must be presented. No one has succeeded in finding for *pharetratis*—*tapetis* any sense which the Latin will bear. To explain it as meaning 'the rugs on which the prince's quiver was lying' is the refuge of despair. Wagner cut the knot by reading *pharetratus*, upon which Langen justly observes that we expect an epithet with *tapetis*. Prof. Ellis (in the *Classical Review*, 1900, p. 157) shares this opinion and conjectures *figuratis* which, apart from its palaeographical improbability, involves a sense of the word which he does not support, nor can I.

It will be best to begin with the latter part of the description. In 704 sqq. Valerius represents Myraces as wounded through a *tigris* which he was wearing, and through whose open mouth, to reproduce the poetical conceit, its master's life ebbed away. What was this *tigris*, and whence does it so suddenly appear upon the scene? Langen thinks it was a 'tiger skin'; and if the skin had been worn, as we know such spoils of the chase were often worn, with the warrior's head in the dead beast's jaws, and if Myraces had been struck in the face, the description would have been intelligible. But this is not the case, as from 699 sq. we see Myraces' head was enveloped in a gorgeous turban. Besides, we have to reckon with *leuem* and 'multo maculatam *murice*.' Why should a

tiger skin be called 'light' or 'mobile,' or have been dyed purple? But if the *tigris* was not a tiger skin, what was it? It must be observed here that the word can mean *nothing but* a tiger skin, *unless* another sense has already been suggested by the context. A passage of Plautus comes opportunely to our assistance. He has, *Pseudolus* 145 sqq., 'ita ego uostra latera loris faciam ut ualide uaria sint | ut ne peristromata quidem aequi picta sint Campanica | neque Alexandria beluata tonsilia *tapetia*.' Here we see *tapetia* covered with figures of animals. In *Stichus* 378 'Babylonica peristromata, *conchyliata* *tapetia*,' cf. Cicero *Verr.* iv. § 27 'conchyliatis Cn. Pompei peristromatis,' we see them dyed in purple. Their connexion with the far East is vouched for by the epithet *Babylonica*, and by Aristophanes *Ran.* 937 οὐδὲ ἵππαλεκτρυόνας μὰ Δᾶ' οὐδὲ τραγελάφους ἀπερ σύ, | ἀ' ν τοῖς παραπετάσμασιν τοῖς Μηδι-κοῖς γράφουσι (Lorenz on Plautus *Pseud.* l.c. where these passages are collected). The *Pseudolus* quotation and Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 8. 74 show moreover that the chief manufactory of such stuffs was at *Alexandria*; and if a mention of this city had preceded, a reference to them, as in *tigris*, would be understood, but hardly otherwise. Now *Alexandria* and its derivatives were hardly possible to a writer of hexameter verse; but *Pharos* and its derivatives were available. Hence I conclude that the first half of *pharetratis* conceals *Phari*. It remains to examine the second half. *uariis* at once suggests itself, and might claim acceptance but for a single circumstance. *tapetis* (*tapetum*), the name of stuffs, whose chief employment was for sofa covers, hangings and horsecloths, was not likely without more ado to be applied to the coverings of the human frame. It may have been used in a depreciatory sense of the barbaric envelope as Juvenal speaks of the praetor's cumbrous vestment as *aulaea togae* (10. 39). But we require some hint that *tapetis* does not mean an ordinary coverlet, wrapping, or drugget. We have moreover to bring *leuem* into line with the rest of the description. I accordingly believe that *phare-tratis* conceals *PHARI RARIS*, this adjective being a well-known epithet of light textures. Valerius, as so often, is building on Virgil's foundations. The passage here regarded is *Aen.* 11. 768 sqq.,

the incident of Camilla and Chloreas. Amongst numerous, if concealed, reminiscences it may be noticed that Chloreas was dressed in a light stuff; 'sinusque crepantes | carbaceos.'

VII 40 sq.

    quis regum Pelias, quis Thessalus aut quae  
    Graecia? quodnam hominum cerno genus?

Heinsius condemned *cerno* as an interpolation and thought that *Minyae* had fallen out after *hominum*. It seems however an unlikely word to have been selected as a stopgap, and it is possible that *nam hominum* itself conceals *MINYVM*. Ceteris paribus, I should prefer the reading of Heinsius: but in these matters one may easily be swayed too much by a personal inclination.

VII 55 sqq.

    ante meus caesa descendet Caucasus umbra  
    ac prior Haemonias repetet super aequora praedas  
    aut ego quam uittis statui feralibus Hellen.

A notorious crux; and, save for Koestlin's *quam* for *cum*, corrected so unsatisfactorily that we need not cite previous proposals. On *prior* Langen observes with justice 'nec apte praedas repetere dicitur qui prior praedam petit.' This difficulty is easily removed by reading *PRIVS*, these two terminations being frequently confused. The general sense of the three lines is clear. Aeetes is in a blazing passion and scouts the idea of his letting the fleece go as an utter impossibility. Could this not be fitly expressed as follows: 'Sooner shall Caucasus be stripped of its giant forests' (whose magnitude was proverbial; cf. Prop. 1. 14. 6 'urgetur quantis Caucasus arboribus') 'to build a fleet with which the dead and canonised Helle shall plunder the coasts of Greece'? We should secure this if we read *HANC* for *aut*. While speaking the word, Aeetes would point to a figure of Helle in the hall draped with the *uittae ferales*. For corruption in the first letters of a line see above on III 134.

VII 133 sqq.

    fata uirum si iam suprema ferebant,  
    iussus ad ignotos potius foret ire tyrannos,  
    o utinam, et tandem non hac moreretur in urbe!

This passage has been injured by a vicious punctuation, which I have removed by placing commas after *tyrannos*, where the vulgate has a longer stop, and after *utinam*. The idiomatic *tandem* should not be tampered with.

## VII 165 sqq.

quin illa sacro, quo freta ueneno,  
illum etiam totis adstantem noctibus anguem  
qui nemus omne suum quique aurea (respice porro)  
uellera tot spiris circum, tot ductibus implet,  
insomnem in somnos ingenti soluat ab orno.

*illa*—*illum* is, of course, intolerable, and *illa* has generally been changed: but *IPSVM* seems a somewhat more probable alteration. In the last line I have printed Bury's ingenious *insomnem* for *soluat et*, though it cannot be called absolutely certain.

## VII 186 sqq.

uolucrem Iuno aspicit Irin  
festinamque iubet monitis parere Diones  
et iuuenem Aesonium praedicto sistere luco.

*aspicit* was emended by Baehrens not very happily to *arripit*. I think it must have come from *ADCIET* or *ADCIIT*, between which I cannot decide. There is a similar doubt between the present and the perfect at Silius Italicus 13. 368 'sontes | acciet et iusta punit commissa securi' where Bauer reads *acciet* with the MSS. but most editors *accit*.

## VIII 21 sqq.

attonito qualis pede prosilit Ino  
in freta nec meminit parui conterrita nati  
quem tenet; extremum coniunx ferit inritus Isthmon.

*ferit* is inadmissible; but neither Columbus' *petit* nor Heinsius' *premit* nor the same scholar's *extremo c. furit i. Isthmo* (V having *sihmo*) carry any conviction. Change a letter and read *terit*. The word is chosen to give the useless movements to and fro of the despairing husband.

VIII 397 sqq.

namque datum hoc fatis, trepidus supplexque canebat  
Mopsus, ut in seros irent magis ista nepotes  
atque alias lueret tam dira incendia raptor.

The corruption of *magis ista* is indubitable, but its correction far from certain. The subject is the feud of Europe and Asia, and *iret LIS ista*, 'ground of dispute,' appears possible. *iret*—*ira* has also been suggested. If this be right, *GRAVIS* must be read for *magis*: and this solution may seem preferable to some.

J. P. POSTGATE.

P.S. I understand that *quod Minyum* (vii 41) had also occurred to Prof. Bury.

## MILTON AND THE ARISTOTELIAN DEFINITION OF TRAGEDY.

ALL who have studied the history of the Catharsis controversy are aware that Milton has to be recognized as one of the precursors of Weil and Bernays, and that a pathological interpretation of *κάθαρσις* is implied in the well-known passage which forms the opening of the preface to *Samson Agonistes* :—

‘Tragedy, as it was antiently composed, hath been ever held the gravest, moralest, and most profitable of all other poems; therefore said by Aristotle to be of power by raising pity and fear, or terror, to purge the mind of those and such like passions; that is to temper and reduce them to just measure with a kind of delight, stirred up by reading or seeing those passions well imitated. Nor is Nature wanting in her own effects to make good his assertion; for so in physic things of melancholic hue and quality are used against melancholy, sour against sour, salt to remove salt humours.’

On this Bernays (*Zwei Abh.* p. 95) remarks with pardonable satisfaction, ‘Das homöopathische Gleichniss zeigt, wie nahe er dem Richtigen war.’ As the language of Milton’s illustration has, if I am not mistaken, a Helmontistic colouring, the actual form of his statement may very well be his own. The great interest it has for us is in the evidence it supplies that in Milton’s view the Aristotelian *κάθαρσις παθημάτων* was to be conceived as analogous to a bodily process, that the term was borrowed from medicine rather than religion, and that it meant ‘purgatio’ in its medical sense, and not, as Heinsius and Goulston had supposed, in its ceremonial sense of ‘lustratio’ or ‘expiatio’—in other words that a great poet found no difficulty

in accepting the initial assumption of the pathological interpretation of *κάθαρσις*, and did not regard it as unworthy of Aristotle or beneath the dignity of Tragedy.

How did Milton come by this theory of Aristotle's meaning? The question, so far as I am aware, has never been raised, but it invites discussion, unless one is prepared to believe him to have had no predecessors, and to have arrived at the above view by independent study of the Aristotelian texts.

One thing may certainly be said of his interpretation: he did not find it in any of the ordinary versions of or commentaries on the *Poetics*. From Valla downwards the translators had agreed in representing *κάθαρσις* by 'purgatio' or 'expiatio' or 'lustratio,' or by some equivalent periphrasis. The rendering 'expiatio' or 'lustratio' was introduced by Heinsius (1610) and Goulston (1623), who probably got it from Lambinus, but it is obvious that it must have been current in Italy even before the publication of Lambinus' version of the *Politics* (1567), as it is assumed in the paraphrase of the Aristotelian definition which appears in an Italian work of earlier date, the *De Poeta* of A. S. Minturnus (p. 63), printed in Venice in 1559:—

‘ut...animum a perturbationibus expiet.’

Though a translation may often be evasive and not imply any very precise idea of the sense, I think it is pretty clear that the early translators must have taken *κάθαρσις* to mean 'purification'; that their usual rendering 'purgatio' was intended to have that sense; and that 'expiatio' and 'lustratio' were nothing but verbal improvements, which did not involve anything of the nature of a new view of the meaning of the term. The same impression is left on one by the notes of the various commentators of this period; in spite of their differences and jealousies they all manage to come round to one and the same conclusion, that the passions, or certain of them, are in some way or other 'purified' by Tragedy; they have apparently no notion of any other interpretation, or of any other possible justification of the existence of Tragedy. Most of them are duly aware of the passage in *Pol.* 8. 7,

1341<sup>b</sup> 32, but they seem to quote it only for purposes of illustration, as an interesting parallel, without any serious attempt to analyse it, or take it as the starting-point of their interpretation of the formula in the Poetics.

As soon as one turns to the Politics, however, one is not a little surprised to see that the interpretation of *κάθαρσις*, instead of always running in the same groove, as it does in the editions of the Poetics, is a point on which there is a wholesome diversity of opinion. The first rendering of the term, as used by Aristotle in Bk. VIII., was 'purificatio.' This is the word adopted by William of Morbeka, and afterwards by Aretinus; and it survives in the semi-scholastic Sylvester Maurus (1668), no doubt through its having been sanctioned and canonized by the great name of Aquinas. In the course of the 16th cent., however, it was supplanted by one or other of the following words, 'purgatio,' 'curatio,' 'lustratio,' or 'expiatio.' 'Curatio' appears as early as 1554 in Strebée's version, e.g. in his version of Pol. 8. 6, 1341<sup>a</sup> 22:—

*'Hac igitur utendum temporibus iis quibus spectaculum κάθαρσιν, id est curationem affectuum, potius quam disciplinam inducere potest.'*

It is certainly not a very exact rendering for *κάθαρσις*, but it leaves us in no doubt as to one thing, the medical sense that Strebée must have attached to the term. The same view was taken by another translator of the same period, a scholar of much greater mark and importance than Strebée, the famous Spanish Aristotelian, Genesius Sepulveda. His Latin for Pol. 8. 6, 1341<sup>a</sup> 22 is as follows:—

*'Itaque iis temporibus utendum est tibia in quibus spectaculum ad purgationem magis quam ad disciplinam valet,'*

—on which he has a note, to remove any ambiguity there may be in this use of 'purgatio':—

*'Purgatio intelligitur expulsio cuiuspiam affectus, ut metus, exempli gratia, vel misericordiae, quod per quosdam cantus vehementes efficitur.'*

Here 'expulsio' may possibly be a reminiscence of Horace's

use of 'expellere' in Epp. 2. 2. 137. Be this as it may, Sepulveda's version is clearly that of one who wished to give *κάθαρσις* a quasi-medical sense, and was under no temptation to give it the religious or ceremonial sense of 'expiatio' or 'lustratio,' which has been so often attached to the word both in his own and in later times. A much more definite anticipation, however, of what we now term the pathological interpretation of *κάθαρσις* is to be seen in another work on the *Politics* of a somewhat later date than Sepulveda's version. I have before me the Italian paraphrase of Scaino—'La Politica di Aristotile ridotta in modo di Parafrasi dal Rev. Antonio Scaino da Salo' (Rome 1578)<sup>1</sup>, and find him giving the following as his impression of the sense and argument of Pol. 8. 7, 1342<sup>a</sup> 5 sqq. :—

*'Perche non è già da dubitare, che quelle passioni dell' animo, le quali molto segnalate appariscono in alcuni, non si trovino anchora in tutto 'l resto del genere humano; ben che alcuni huomini più, & altri meno vengano predominati da cotali affetti; quali sono la misericordia, il timore, aggiungiamo l' entusiasmo, rapto delli spiriti principali agitati da moto terribile, che passa alle volte in furore; alla qual passione, per causa d' humor peccante, non ha dubbio che alcuni vi si trovano grandemente sottoposti; si come appare di coloro, i quali col mezo de sacri canti, che s' usano per espiare & santificare l' anima, ne vengono quietati & tranquillati, quasi come per via di medicina ne fossero purgati: ilche convien che segua anchora de gl' altri huomini, che vanno soggetti, chi alla misericordia, & chi al timore, o a qualunque altra passione; i quali con l' uso di medicina appropriati all' humor peccante, ne vengono evacuati, sentendo piacere dell' alleggerimento, per la dissolutione, & evaporatione di quelli tanto vehementi affetti, che dianzi tenevano oppressi gli animi loro.'*

More important, however, for our purposes is his note (f. 219<sup>r</sup>), in which he incidentally shows how a theory of the tragic catharsis may be constructed on the same lines:—

<sup>1</sup> In Scaino Bks. VII—VIII are placed immediately after Bk. III. He had already discussed this point in a little

quarto, 'Antonii Scaini Salodiens: in octo Arist. libros qui extant de repub. quaestiones' (Rome 1577).

‘...pare che, per mezo della musica, la purgatione delle passioni dell’ animo s’ habbi ad effettuare in questa guisa: cioè, che si come nelle medicine evacuanti s’ osserva talhora d’ applicar cosa, che sia conforme all’ humor peccante per disporlo, & attraerlo in questo modo ad uscir del corpo, il quale si rende poi scarico di questo mal affetto, si come il reobarbaro in questa guisa purga la colera: così ancho ne gli affetti ridondanti dell’ animo, quasi come medicina, havra forza una strampellata (per dir così) harmonia, che sia conforme al affetto peccante di purgar gli animi, che sono molto ripieni d’humore, dissolvendosi con l’ aggionta del furore concitato di vantaggio dalla musica entusiastica...la passione interna; per non potersi più oltre mantener insieme una tanta gran massa di humore, o colerico, o incontinente, o d’altra sorte ch’ egli si sia: di che trovandosi poi gl’ huomini scarichi, rimangono, come purgati che ne vengono, più quieti quanto alle passione interne dell’ animo; in quella guisa, che pare che Aristotile nel libro della poetica, trattando della tragedia, supponga che in essa mediante la paura & la misericordia, che si eccita con la rappresentatione de fatti, et casi altrui horribili, et miserabili, et col mezo del soave parlare, che mollifica gli animi de gli uditori, si venga in essi a purgare, & a moderare il soverchio dell’ humor peccante in simile qualita, & a recare con questo tal alleviamento una certa tranquillita & dolcezza a gli animi dell’ spettatori, che si fanno in questa guisa scarichi di quelle passioni, che dianzi gli molestavano...Dove è d’ avertire, che dicendo Aristotile che al cervello & all’ inclinatione de mechanici & plebei si deve accommodar la musica, che sia conforme all’ humor in che peccano; ci da di qua chiaramente ad intendere, che in questo modo, a simiglianza delle medicine purgative de gli humor peccanti del corpo per ragion di simpatia, si faccian anche le purgationi de gli affetti dell’ animo.’

It is not easy to follow the windings of Scaino’s long and embarrassed periods. Any one, however, who has the patience to do that must see that he has given us a fairly complete view of the Aristotelian *καθαρσις*, and that his interpretation is in its essentials identical with that of Weil and Bernays and their followers. (1) His primary assumption is that the

emotions are analogous to the humours, and under certain circumstances to the peccant humours of the body; in other words he has perceived the 'humoral' theory underlying the Aristotelian statement quite as clearly as Doering (*Kunstlehre des Aristoteles*, p. 322) has done in our own time. (2) He supposes the cathartic music to act on a certain kind of peccant humour of the soul as a sort of 'medicina evacuante' or 'purgativa.' Similar terms are more than once used by M. Weil in his original paper (*Verhandlungen der zehnten Versammlung deutscher Philologen* (etc.) in *Basel*, p. 139). (3) The music is said to be a 'medicina conforme' or 'appropriata all' humor peccante,' and to work 'per ragion di simpatia'—an anticipation, I take it, of Milton's so-called homeopathic comparison. (4) The result of the process is said to be the relief of the soul from its burden of emotion and its restoration to peace and calm. Here the Italian 'scarichi' is a very direct anticipation of the 'erleichternde Entladung' of Bernays. All this relates primarily to the well-known passage in the *Politics* (8. 7, 1341<sup>a</sup> 32 sqq.) on the cathartic music; but it will be observed that Scaino is able to express the effect of Tragedy in very similar terms: Tragedy is said to stir up ('eccita') the emotions of pity and fear, and purge away their superabundance; and the result is a certain tranquillity of soul, as soon as the burden of emotion has been taken off. If Scaino had worked out his interpretation in detail by a formal discussion of the texts on which it was based, he would, I think, have left but little to be done by his Nineteenth-century successors.

Scaino must have been no inconsiderable figure among the Aristotelian scholars of his day, for he wrote on the *Ethics*, *Physics*, *Metaphysics* and *De Anima*, as well as on the *Politics*. It is very difficult, therefore, to account for the persistent neglect of his view of *κάθαρσις* by the whole tribe of professional interpreters of the *Poetics*, by his own countrymen Riccoboni (1587) and Beni (1613), just as much as by Heinsius and Goulston. His theory, however, seems to have outlived their conspiracy of silence, and to have met with some acceptance at any rate in Italy. I infer this from the fact that in the early years of the following century a view indistinguishable

from Scaino's is to be found in a work by Tarquinio Galluzzi, one of the lights of the Jesuit order of this period. As he was Rector of the Greek College at Rome from 1631 to 1649, Galluzzi must have been living and teaching at Rome in 1638, the year we remember as that of Milton's Italian journey.

Galluzzi's interpretation of *κάθαρσις* has been overlooked by Doering and others, no doubt through the accident of its being hidden away in a volume with the somewhat unpromising title, ' Tarquinii Gallutii Sabini e societate Iesu Virgilianae Vindicationes & Commentarii tres de Tragoedia Comoedia Elegia ' (Rom. 1621). The affinity between his view and that of Scaino may be seen from the following passage in his Chapter on the ' End of Tragedy ' (p. 251) :—

*' Cum ex definitione intelligitur, id Tragoediae propositum esse, ut duos illos animi nostri purget affectus, commiserationem, ac metum, videndum erit, quibus potissimum praesidiis id consequatur. Sed tamen ante constituamus oportet, quid sit, affectus, sive morbos animi purgare. Explanavit hoc Arist. ipse in Politicorum octavo lib. cap. vii. Ubi cum pronunciasset, Musicam purgandis affectibus utilem esse, quid eo purgationis nomine intelligi vellet, ita declaravit. Nam affectus, inquit, qui animos movent, omnibus insunt; differunt tamen eo, quod alios magis, alios minus exagitant, ut misericordia, & metus; atque adeo etiam furor. nam huic quoque commotioni nonnulli obnoxii sunt, quos cantibus sacris sedari videmus, veluti purgationem nactos, & medicinam. Haec ille. quibus significat, in affectibus animi nostri exuperantiam quandam esse, ei plane similem, quae in corporis humoribus est, cum incommoda valetudine laboramus. Quemadmodum ergo medicamentorum vi absterguntur humores, & aegrotantium corpora ea levantur exuperantia, quae procreat morbos, sic affectus vehementissimi, & quodammodo redundantes abstergi, purgariq. possunt adeo, ut animus omni prorsus aegrotatione liberetur. Id igitur ait Aristoteles Tragoediam agere, ac veluti finem intueri: ut sicut affecta corpora purgatis, atque abstersis curantur humoribus, ita animum sanet ipsa, duobus affectibus nominatim, commiseratione, ac metu purgatis, hoc est, ab ea liberatis exuperantia, a qua animi quaedam aegrotatio promanabat.'*

My only reason for thus quoting Galluzzi is in order to show that a pathological theory of the effect of Tragedy was certainly not unknown in Italy in Milton's time ; it is hardly worth while to speculate as to how Milton himself may have come to know of it—whether from a book or through conversation with some learned friend of his in Rome or elsewhere. The truth is that some such theory seems to have long been in the air in Italy. In proof of this I may perhaps be permitted to give one more quotation from Italian literature, this time however from a well-known Italian classic, the *Galateo* (1558) of Giovanni della Casa :—

*'Quantunque, secondo che io udii già dire ad [da?] un valente huomo nostro vicino, gli huomini habbiamo molte volte bisogno si di lagrimare, come di ridere : & per tel cagione egli affermava essere state da principio trovate le dolorose favole, che si chiamarone Tragedie ; accio che raccontate ne theatri, come in quel tempo si costumava di fare ; tirassero le lagrime a gli occhi di coloro, che haveano di ciò mestiere ; & così eglino piangendo della loro infirmità guarissero'* (f. 12<sup>v</sup>, ed. 1559).

—Or as the old Elizabethan translator of the *Galateo* puts it :—

*'Albeit not long since I heard it said to [?] a worthy gentleman our neighbour that men have many times more need to weepe then to laugh. And for that cause, he said, those dolefull tales which we call tragedies were devised at first, that when they were plaid in the Theatres (as at that time they were wont) they might draw fourth tears out of their eyes, that had need to spend them. And so they were by their weeping healed of their infirmitie.'*

The view which Casa is reproducing in this passage is certainly very far removed from the conventional justification of Tragedy current in his time ; it is in fact only the therapeutic interpretation of *καθαρσις παθημάτων* in a slightly altered form, and as such, it may very well be regarded as a reminiscence of the teaching of some nameless forerunner of Scaino and Galluzzi. Some such interpretation, therefore, must have been already in existence in Italy even in the days of Casa. Without insisting on this, however, I think the

er evidence to which I have drawn attention may suffice to show that the Bernaysian theory had been to a certain extent anticipated by more than one Italian scholar, and that Milton does not stand so completely alone among the precursors of Bernays as is usually supposed. His words in the preface to *Samson Agonistes* are no proof of his having broken ground for himself, or excogitated a new interpretation of the Aristotelian text.

I. BYWATER.

## HERMAS AND CEBES.

FROM a comparison of *Hermae Pastor* with *Cebetis Tabula*, as below, it appears that the *Tabula* is one of the principal sources of the *Pastor*. This discovery (as it seems to me) was made some years ago by a contributor to the JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY, whose name will be given in the conclusion to this article.

### A. CEBETIS TABULA.

#### § 1. LINES 1—55.

In quoting *Cebetis Tabula* we shall use Mr Jerram's edition (Clarendon Press, 1878), in which there are 681 numbered lines of Greek Text, followed by 40 lines of Latin without numbers from a translation of "an Arabic paraphrase of the ninth or tenth century A.D." Of chapters or sections there are 43, the first of which is introductory narrative. Some visitors see ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κρόνου ἱερῷ (1) a Πίναξ with a strange device (γραφή) which they cannot make out,

οὕτε γὰρ πόλις ἐδόκει ἡμῖν 5  
εἶναι τὸ γεγραμμένον οὕτε στρατόπεδον· ἀλλὰ περιβόλος  
ἥν, ἐν αὐτῷ ἔχων ἑτέρους περιβόλους δύο, τὸν μὲν μείζων  
τὸν δὲ ἐλάττω. ἦν δὲ καὶ πύλη ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου περιβόλου·  
πρὸς δὲ τῇ πύλῃ ὅχλος ἐδόκει ἡμῖν πολὺς ἐφεστάναι.  
καὶ ἔνδον δὲ ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ πλῆθος τι γυναικῶν ἐωράτο. 10  
ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς εἰσόδου τοῦ πρώτου πυλώνος καὶ περιβόλου  
γέρων τις ἐφεστώς ἔμφασιν ἐποίει, ὡς προστάττων τι τῷ  
εἰσιόντι ὅχλῳ.

Chap. II. introduces Senex (*πρεσβύτης τις*), who undertakes to explain the *μυθολογία*, and a dialogue follows between him and Hospes, one of the perplexed *ξένοι*. In chap. III. Senex remarks *ὅτι ἐπικίνδυνόν τι ἔχει ἡ ἐξήγησις* (32), and the dialogue proceeds thus,

**Ξ.** οἶον τί; ἔφην ἔγω.

**Π.** ὅτι, εἰ μὲν προσέξετε, ἔφη, καὶ συνήσετε τὰ λεγόμενα, φρόνιμοι καὶ εὐδαιμονες ἔσεσθε εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἄφρονες καὶ 35 κακοδαίμονες καὶ πικροὶ καὶ ἀμαθεῖς γενόμενοι, κακῶς βιωσεσθε. ἔστι γὰρ ἡ ἐξήγησις ἐοικῦντα τῷ τῆς Σφιγγὸς αἰνίγματι, ὃ ἐκείνη προεβάλλετο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. εἰ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸς συνίη τις, ἐσώζετο· εἰ δὲ μὴ συνίη, ἀπώλετο ὑπὸ τῆς Σφιγγός. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξηγήσεως 40 ἔχει ταύτης. ἡ γὰρ Ἀφροσύνη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις Σφίγξ ἔστιν. αἰνίττεται δὲ τάδε, τί ἀγαθὸν, τί κακὸν, τί οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὔτε κακόν ἔστιν ἐν τῷ βίῳ. ταῦτ' οὖν ἔὰν μέν τις μὴ συνίη, ἀπόλλυται ὑπ' αὐτῆς· οὐκ εἰσάπαξ, ὡσπερ 45 ὁ ὑπὸ τῆς Σφιγγὸς καταβρωθεὶς ἀπέθνησκεν ἀλλὰ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ βίῳ καταφθείρεται. ἔὰν δέ τις γνῷ, ἀνάπαλιν ἡ μὲν Ἀφροσύνη ἀπόλλυται, αὐτὸς δὲ σώζεται, καὶ μακάριος καὶ εὐδαιμων γίγνεται ἐν παντὶ τῷ βίῳ. οὐμεῖς οὖν προσέχετε, καὶ μὴ παρακούετε.

Thus he who solves the riddle of life by *σύνεσις* is saved (39). Want of understanding brings not immediate death (45), but a gradual *καταφθορά*, which may be arrested by knowledge (46).

## § 2. LINES 56—100.

The exposition of the *γραφή* begins in chap. IV. thus,

**Π.** Ἀναλαβὼν οὖν ράβδον τινὰ, καὶ ἐκτείνας πρὸς τὴν γραφήν· Ὁράτε, ἔφη, τὸν περίβολον τοῦτον;

**Ξ.** ὄρῶμεν.

**Π.** τοῦτο πρῶτον δεῖ εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς, ὅτι καλεῖται οὗτος ὁ τόπος Βίος, καὶ ὁ ὄχλος ὁ πολὺς ὁ παρὰ τὴν 60 πύλην ἐφεστὼς οἱ μέλλοντες εἰσπορεύεσθαι εἰς τὸν βίον οὗτοί εἰσιν. ὁ δὲ γέρων ὁ ἀνω ἐστηκὼς ἔχων χάρτην

τινὰ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ καὶ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ ὥσπερ δεικνύων τι, οὗτος Δαιμῶν καλεῖται προστάττει δὲ τοῖς εἰσπορευομένοις τί δεῖ αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν, ὡς ἀν εἰσέλθωσιν εἰς τὸν βίον καὶ 65 δεικνύει, ποίαν ὁδὸν αὐτοὺς δεῖ βαδίζειν, εἰ σώζεσθαι μέλλουσιν ἐν τῷ βίῳ.

Chap. v. introduces Ἀπάτη on her throne, as a plausible looking woman with an affected manner, holding a cup in her hand (72), from which

Π. τοὺς εἰσπορευομένους εἰς τὸν βίον ποτίζει τὴν ἑαυτῆς δύναμιν.

Ξ. τοῦτο δὲ τί ἔστι τὸ ποτόν;

Π. Πλάνος, ἔφη, καὶ Ἀγνοία.

80

Chap. vi. All drink of it, but some more, some less (85). Within the gate are seen various other women,

Π. αὐται τοίνυν Δόξαι καὶ Ἐπιθυμίαι καὶ Ἡδοναὶ καλοῦνται. ὅταν οὖν εἰσπορεύηται ὁ ὄχλος, ἀναπηδῶσιν αὐται, καὶ πλέκονται πρὸς ἔκαστον, εἴτα ἀπάγονται. 90

They lead them off, to be saved (*σώζεσθαι*) or to perish διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην, with promises of happy and prosperous lives,

οἱ δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀγνοιαν καὶ τὸν πλάνον, ὃν πεπώκασι παρὰ τῆς Ἀπάτης, οὐχ εὐρίσκουσι ποία ἔστιν ἡ ἀληθινὴ ὁδὸς ἡ 98 ἐν τῷ βίῳ, ἀλλὰ πλανῶνται εἰκῇ.

### § 3. LINES 101—160.

In chap. vii. Fortune appears upon the scene, blind and standing ἐπὶ λίθου τινὸς στρογγύλου (103). She gives and takes away at random, the round rolling stone well symbolising her fickleness.

Chap. viii. A great crowd of Ἀπροβούλευτοι seek her favours, some δοκοῦντες χαίρειν, others κλαίειν (127). Her gifts are the things which most men think ἀγαθά (133).

Ξ. ταῦτ' οὖν τίνα ἔστι;

Π. πλούτος δηλονότι, καὶ δόξα, καὶ εὐγένεια, καὶ τέκνα, 135 καὶ τυραννίδες, καὶ βασιλεῖαι καὶ τάλλα ὅσα τούτοις παραπλήσια.

The discussion of these being deferred (139), the description of the Πίναξ is proceeded with.

IX. Π. Ὁρᾶς οὖν, ὡς ἀν παρέλθης τὴν πύλην ταύτην, ἀνωτέρω ἄλλον περίβολον, καὶ γυναικας ἔξω τοῦ περιβόλου ἐστηκυίας, κεκοσμημένας ὥσπερ ἔταιραι εἰσθαστ;

145

Ξ. καὶ μάλα.

Π. αὐται τοίνυν, ἡ μὲν Ἀκρασία καλεῖται, ἡ δὲ Ἀσωτία, ἡ δὲ Ἀπληστία, ἡ δὲ Κολακεία.

These watch for men who have received things from Τύχη, and spring upon them and embrace them, *καὶ ἀξιοῦσι παρ'* αὐταῖς μένειν (154). To the man whom they persuade *εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἡδυπάθειαν* (157) she is *ἡδεῖα* so long as he is under her spell, and no longer.

ὅταν γὰρ ἀνανήψῃ, αἰσθάνεται ὅτι οὐκ ἡσθιεν, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς κατησθίετο καὶ ὑθρίζετο.

160

#### § 4. LINES 160—185.

At length, when they have spent all, *παραδίδονται τῇ Τιμωρίᾳ* (166).

Chap. x. Hospes asks *ποία αὕτη*;

Π. Ὁρᾶς ὀπίσω τι αὐτῶν, ἔφη, ἀνω ὥσπερ θυρίου μικρὸν, καὶ τόπον στενόν τινα καὶ σκοτεινόν;

170

Ξ. καὶ μάλα.

Π. οὐκοῦν καὶ γυναικες αἰσχραὶ καὶ ρυπαραὶ καὶ ῥάκη ἡμφιεσμέναι δοκοῦσι συνεῖναι;

Ξ. καὶ μάλα.

Π. αὐται τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἡ μὲν τὴν μάστιγα ἔχουσα καλεῖται Τιμωρία· ἡ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐν τοῖς γόνασιν ἔχουσα, 175 Λύπη· ἡ δὲ τὰς τρίχας τιλλουσα ἑαυτῆς, Ὁδύνη.

Near them stand Ὁδυρμός and his sister Ἀθυμία (180).

τούτοις οὖν παραδίδοται, καὶ μετὰ τούτων συμβιοῦ τιμωρούμενος. εἴτα ἐνταῦθα πάλιν εἰς τὸν ἔτερον οἶκον ρίπτεται, εἰς τὴν Κακοδαιμονίαν, καὶ ὡδε τὸν 183

λοιπὸν βίον καταστρέφει ἐν πάσῃ κακοδαιμονίᾳ, ἐὰν μὴ ἡ  
Μετάνοια αὐτῷ ἐπιτύχῃ (?) συναντήσασα. 185

The oldest MS. is said to have ἀπὸ τύχη ἐκ προαιρέσεως  
συναντήσασα, but the editor omits ἐκ προαιρέσεως as "in-  
consistent with τύχη".

### § 5. LINES 186—239.

The next chapter describes the action of Μετάνοια, alias  
Μεταμέλεια (577).

χι. Εἰτα τί γίγνεται, ἐὰν ἡ Μετάνοια αὐτῷ συναν-  
τήσῃ;

Π. ἔξαιρει αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν κακῶν, καὶ συνίστησιν αὐτῷ  
ἔτέραν Δόξαν τὴν εἰς τὴν Ἀληθινὴν Παιδείαν ἄγουσαν,  
ἄμα δὲ καὶ τὴν εἰς τὴν Ψευδοπαιδείαν καλούμενην. 190

Ε. εἰτα τί γίγνεται;

Π. ἐὰν μὲν, φησὶ, τὴν Δόξαν ταύτην προσδέξηται, τὴν  
ἄξουσαν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Ἀληθινὴν Παιδείαν, καθαρθεὶς  
ὑπ' αὐτῆς σωζέται, καὶ μακάριος καὶ εὐδαίμων γίγνεται  
ἐν τῷ βίῳ· εἰ δὲ μὴ, πάλιν πλανᾶται ὑπὸ τῆς Ψευ- 195  
δοδοξίας.

Chap. XII. Senex points out Ψευδοπαιδεία standing ἔξω at  
the εἰσόδος (201) of the second enclosure.

Π. ταύτην τοίνυν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ εἰκαῖοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν  
Παιδείαν καλούσιν· οὐκ ἔστι δὲ, ἀλλὰ Ψευδοπαιδεία, ἔφη. 205  
οἱ μέντοι σωζόμενοι, ὅπόταν βούλωνται εἰς τὴν Ἀληθινὴν  
Παιδείαν ἐλθεῖν, ὥδε πρῶτον παραγίγνονται.

Ε. πότερον οὖν ἄλλη ὁδὸς οὐκ ἦν, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀληθινὴν  
Παιδείαν ἄγουσα;

Π. οὐκ ἔστιν, ἔφη. 210

χιι. Ε. οὐτοι δὲ οἱ ἀνθρωποι, οἱ ἔσω τοῦ περιβόλου  
ἀνακάμπτοντες, τίνει εἰσίν;

Π. οἱ τῆς Ψευδοπαιδείας, ἔφη, ἐρασταὶ, ἡπατημένοι, καὶ  
οἰόμενοι μετὰ τῆς Ἀληθινῆς Παιδείας συνομιλεῖν.

Her deluded ἐρασταί are Poets, Μουσικοί (217), Ἁδονικοί  
(218), καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τούτοις εἰσὶ παραπλήσιοι (220).

Chap. XIV. The same women, who seem *περιτρέχειν* (221), including Ἀκρασία and the Δόξαι, find their way into the second enclosure, *σπανίως δὲ* (226) καὶ οὐχὶ ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περιβόλῳ; for the potion of Deceit remains in men,

καὶ ἡ ἄγνοια μένει ἐν τούτοις, μὴ Δία, 230  
καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς γε ἡ ἀφροσύνη καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀπέλθῃ  
ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὕθ' ἡ δόξα οὕθ' ἡ λοιπὴ κακία, μέχρις ἂν  
ἀπογράντες τῆς Ψευδοπαιδείας εἰσέλθωσιν εἰς τὴν ἀληθινὴν  
όδον, καὶ πίωσι τὴν τούτων καθαρτικὴν δύναμιν.

Then, ὅταν καθαρθῶσι (235), οὕτω σωθήσονται (237). But those who stay with Ψευδοπαιδεία will fare none the better for all their μαθήματα (239).

### § 6. LINES 240—289.

Chap. XV. Ποία ἡ ὁδός τοῦ Ἀληθινῆς Παιδείας? 240

Π. ὁρᾶς ἄνω, ἔφη, τόπον τινὰ ἐκεῖνον, ὅπου οὐδεὶς  
ἐπικατοικεῖ, ἀλλ' ἔρημος δοκεῖ εἶναι;

Ξ. ὁρῶ.

Π. οὐκοῦν καὶ θύραν τινὰ μικρὰν, καὶ ὁδόν τινα πρὸ 245  
τῆς θύρας, ἥτις οὐ πολὺ ὀχλεῖται, ἀλλ' ὀλίγοι πάνυ  
πορεύονται, ὥσπερ δὲ ἀνοδίας τινὸς καὶ τραχείας καὶ  
πετρώδους εἶναι δοκούσησ;

Ξ. καὶ μάλα, ἔφην.

Π. οὐκοῦν καὶ βουνός τις ὑψηλὸς δοκεῖ εἶναι, καὶ ἀνά- 250  
βασις στενὴ πάνυ, καὶ κρημνούς ἔχουσα ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν  
βαθεῖς;

Ξ. ὁρῶ.

Π. αὐτῇ τοίνυν ἔστιν ἡ ὁδὸς, ἔφη, ἡ ἄγουστα πρὸς τὴν  
Ἀληθινῆν Παιδείαν. 255

It looks μάλα χαλεπὴ, and on the top of the hill one sees  
πέτραν τινὰ μεγάλην καὶ ὑψηλὴν καὶ κύκλῳ ἀπόκρημνον (258).

XVI. Π. Ὁρᾶς οὖν καὶ γυναικας δύο ἐστηκύιας ἐπὶ 260  
τῇ πέτρᾳ, λιπαρὰς καὶ εὐεκτούσας τῷ σώματι, καὶ ὡς  
ἐκτετάκασι τὰς χεῖρας προθύμως;

Ξ. ὁρῶ· ἀλλὰ τίνες καλούνται, ἔφην, αὗται;

Π. ή μὲν, Ἐγκράτεια καλεῖται ἔφη· ή δὲ, Καρτερία· εἰσὶ δὲ ἀδελφαί. 265

Ξ. τί οὖν τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτετάκασιν οὗτα προθύμως;

Π. παρακαλοῦσιν, ἔφη, τοὺς παραγνυομένους ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον θαρρεῖν καὶ μὴ ἀποδειλιᾶν, λέγουσαι ὅτι βραχὺ ἔτι δεῖ καρτερῆσαι αὐτοὺς, εἴτα ἥξουσιν εἰς ὅδὸν καλήν.

Ξ. ὅταν οὖν παραγένωνται ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν, πῶς ἀνα- 270  
βαίνουσιν; ὅρῳ γάρ ὅδὸν φέρουσαν οὐδεμίαν ἐπ' αὐτήν.

Π. αὐταις ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημνοῦ προσκαταβαίνουσι, καὶ ἐλκουσιν αὐτοὺς ἄνω πρὸς αὐτάς. εἴτα κελεύουσιν αὐτοὺς διαναπαύσασθαι· καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν διδόασιν Ἰσχὺν καὶ Θάρσος, καὶ ἐπαγγέλλονται αὐτοὺς καταστήσειν πρὸς τὴν 275 Ἀληθινὴν Παιδείαν· καὶ δεικνύουσιν αὐτοὺς τὴν ὅδον, ὡς ἔστι καλή τε, καὶ ὄμαλὴ, καὶ εὐπόρευτος καὶ καθαρὰ παντὸς κακοῦ, ὥσπερ ὅρᾶς.

Chap. xvii. Senex points out περιβολὸν ἔτερον (284) καὶ πύλην ἔτέραν. What is the place called?

Π. εὐδαιμόνων οἰκητήριον, ἔφη· ὅδε γάρ διατρίβουσιν αἱ Ἀρεταὶ πᾶσαι, καὶ ἡ Εὐδαιμονία. 288

### § 7. LINES 290—329.

Chap. xviii. describes Παιδεία. She is καλή, and μέση καὶ κεκριμένη ἥδη τῇ ἡλικίᾳ (292), and simply dressed,

ἔστηκε δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ στρογγύλου λίθου, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τετραγώνου, ἀσφαλῶς κειμένου. καὶ μετὰ ταύτης ἄλλαι δύο εἰσὶ, θυγατέρες τινὲς δοκοῦσαι εἶναι. 295

Ξ. ἐμφαίνεται οὕτως ἔχειν.

Π. τούτων τοίνυν ἡ μὲν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ Παιδεία ἔστιν· ἡ δὲ, Ἀλήθεια· ἡ δὲ, Πειθώ.

Ξ. τί δὲ ἔστηκεν ἐπὶ λίθου τετραγώνου αὕτη;

Π. σημεῖον, ἔφη, ὅτι ἀσφαλής τε καὶ βεβαία ἡ πρὸς 300 αὐτὴν ὅδος ἔστι τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις, καὶ τῶν διδομένων ἀσφαλής ἡ δόσις τοῖς λαμβάνοντις.

Her gifts are Θάρσος and Ἀφοβία, that is to say, ἐπιστήμη τοῦ μηδὲν ἄν ποτε δεινὸν παθεῖν (306) ἐν τῷ βίῳ.

Chap. xix. But why does she stand ἔξω τοῦ περιβόλου?

Π. ὅπως τοὺς παραγυγομένους, ἔφη, θεραπεύη καὶ 310 ποτίζη τὴν καθαρικὴν δύναμιν. εἰθ', ὅταν καθαρθῶσιν, οὕτως αὐτοὺς εἰσάγει πρὸς τὰς Ἀρετάς.

Ξ. πῶς τοῦτο; ἔφην ἐγώ. οὐ γὰρ συνίημι.

Π. ἀλλὰ συνήσεις, ἔφη. ὡς ἀν., εἴ τις φιλοτίμως κάμνων ἐτύγχανε, πρὸς ἴατρὸν δήπου γενόμενος πρό- 315 τερον καθαρικοῖς ἀν ἔξέβαλε τὰ νοσοποιοῦντα· εἴτα οὕτως ἀν αὐτὸν ὁ ἴατρὸς εἰς ἀνάληψιν καὶ ὑγείαν κατέστησεν· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐπειθετο οἷς ἐπέταττεν, εὐλόγως ἀν δήπου ἀπωσθεῖς ἔξωλετο ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου.

So men must be purged by her δύναμις from their ignorance and error imbibed from Deceit (327), and from all the evil qualities with which they were inoculated in the first enclosure.

### § 8. LINES 330—388.

xx. Ξ. ὅταν οὖν καθαρθῇ, ποῖ αὐτὸν ἀποστέλλει; 330

Π. ἔνδον, ἔφη, πρὸς τὴν Ἐπιστήμην καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας Ἀρετάς.

Ξ. ποίας ταύτας;

Π. οὐχ ὄρᾶς, ἔφη, ἐσω τῆς πύλης χωρὸν γυναικῶν, ὡς εἰνειδεῖς δοκοῦσιν είναι καὶ εὔτακτοι, καὶ στολὴν ἀτρύφερον 335 καὶ ἀπλῆν ἔχουσιν· ἔτι τε ὡς ἀπλαστοί εἰσι, καὶ οὐδαμῶς κεκαλλωπισμέναι καθάπερ αἱ ἄλλαι;

Ξ. ὄρῶ, ἔφην ἀλλὰ τίνες αὗται καλοῦνται;

Π. ἡ μὲν πρώτη Ἐπιστήμη, ἔφη, καλεῖται. αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι ταύτης ἀδελφαὶ, Ἀιδρεία, Δικαιοσύνη, Καλοκά- 340 γαθία, Σωφροσύνη, Εὐταξία, Ἐλευθερία, Ἐγκράτεια, Πραότης.

These conduct him to the mother (351), Εὐδαιμονία, who sits ἐπὶ τοῦ προπυλαίου on a high throne, and crowned with a fine crown of flowers (360).

Chap. xxii. When one arrives, what does she do?

Π. στεφανοῖ αὐτὸν, ἔφη, τῇ ἑαυτῆς δυνάμει ἡ τε 365 Εὐδαιμονία καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι Ἀρεταὶ πᾶσαι, ὡσπερ νενικηκότα τοὺς μεγίστους ἀγῶνας.

Ξ. καὶ ποίους ἀγῶνας νενίκηκεν αὐτός; ἔφην ἐγώ.

Π. τοὺς μεγίστους, ἔφη, καὶ τὰ μέγιστα θηρία, ἢ πρότερον αὐτὸν κατήσθιε, καὶ ἐκόλαξε, καὶ ἐποίει δοῦλον. 370 ταῦτα πάντα νενίκηκε, καὶ ἀπέρριψεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ κεκράτηκεν ἑαυτοῦ, ὥστε ἐκεῖνα νῦν τούτῳ δουλεύουσι, καθάπερ οὗτος ἐκείνοις πρότερον.

These *θηρία* are the various forms of *Kakia* (381).

Π. πρῶτον μὲν, ἔφη, τὴν Ἀγνοιαν, καὶ τὸν Πλάνον. ἢ 376 οὐδὲκεὶ σοι θηρία ταῦτα είναι;

Ξ. καὶ πονηρά γε, ἔφην ἐγώ.

Over them all he now *κρατεῖ* (381), *καὶ οὐ κρατεῖται ὥσπερ πρότερον*, and his hopes of happiness are no longer *ἐν ἔτέροις*, but *ἐν αὐτῷ* (388).

The Sphinx, as *Ἀφροσύνη* (41), which goes with *Ἀγνοια* (231), is *κατ' ἔξοχήν* the *μέγιστον θηρίον* which has to be overcome.

### § 9. LINES 389—523.

Chap. xxiv. When a man has been crowned, *τί ποιεῖ*, ἢ *ποῖ βαδίζει*; The Virtues take him back to the place whence he came, and shew him how wretchedly the people live there (393), under the power of *Ἀκρασία*, *Ἀλαζονεία*, *Φιλαργυρία*, *Κενοδοξία* (397), and the like, not being able *τὴν ἐνθάδε ὅδὸν εύρειν* ἐπελάθοντο γάρ τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Δαιμονίου πρόσταγμα (402).

Chap. xxv. Why do the Virtues shew him the place whence he came (405)? He formerly

Π. οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἥδει οὐδὲ ἡπίστατο οὐδὲν τῶν ἐκεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐνεδοίαζε· καὶ διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν, καὶ τὸν πλάνον, διν δὴ ἐπεπώκει, τὰ μὴ δυντα ἀγαθὰ ἐνόμιζεν ἀγαθὰ είναι, καὶ τὰ μὴ δυντα κακά κακά. διὸ καὶ ἔξη κακῶς, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐκεῖ διατρίβοντες. νῦν δὲ ἀπειληφὼς τὴν ἐπι- 410 στήμην τῶν συμφερόντων, αὐτός τε καλῶς ξῆ, καὶ τούτους θεωρεῖ ως κακῶς πράττουσιν.

Chap. xxvi. Now he neither fears nor is troubled by the women called *θηρία* (420), as 'Οδύνη, Λύπη, Ἀκρασία, Φιλαργυρία, Πενία, but ἀπάντων κυριεύει (425).

Chap. xxvii. Some come back ἀπὸ τοῦ βουνοῦ crowned and shewing signs of joy,

οἱ δὲ, ἀστεφάνωτοι, λύπης καὶ ταραχῆς· καὶ τὰς κυήμας καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς δοκοῦσι τετρίφθαι, κατέχονται δὲ ὑπὸ γυναικῶν τινων.

The uncrowned,

οἱ μὲν, ἀπεγνωσμένοι ὑπὸ τῆς Παιδείας, ἀνακάμπτουσι, κακῶς καὶ ἀθλίως διακείμενοι· οἱ δὲ, ἀποδεδειλιακότες καὶ οὐκ ἀναβεβηκότες πρὸς τὴν Καρτερίαν, πάλιν ἀνακάμπτουσι, καὶ πλανῶνται ἀνοδίᾳ.

Λῦπαι, "Αγνοιαι, and other evils follow them (446).

Chap. xxviii. When they have come back to 'Ηδυπάθεια and Ἀκρασία,

οὐχ ἑαυτοὺς αἰτιῶνται, 450  
ἀλλ' εὐθὺς κακῶς λέγονται καὶ τὴν Παιδείαν, καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖσε βαδίζοντας, ὡς ταλαιπωροὶ καὶ ἀθλιοί εἰσι καὶ κακοδαίμονες, οἱ τὸν βίον τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀπολιπόντες κακῶς ζῶσι, καὶ οὐκ ἀπολαύονται τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀγαθῶν.

The things they call good are ἀσωτία and ἀκρασία, ὡς εἴποι ἀν τις ἐπὶ κεφαλαίου (457).

Chap. xxix. Among those come back are Δόξαι, who have conducted men to Παιδεία (461).

Ξ. πότερον οὖν, ἔφην ἐγὼ, αὗται εἰσω πρὸς τὰς Ἀρετὰς 465 εἰσπορεύονται;

Π. οὐ γάρ θέμις Δόξαν εἰσπορεύεσθαι πρὸς τὴν Ἐπιστήμην ἀλλὰ τῇ Παιδείᾳ παραδιδόσιν αὐτούς. εἴτα, ὅταν ἡ Παιδεία παραλάβῃ, ἀνακάμπτουσιν αὗται πάλιν, ἄλλους ἀξουσιαρ ὥσπερ αἱ νῆσες, τὰ φορτία ἔξελόμεναι, 470 πάλιν ἀνακάμπτουσιν, καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν γεμίζονται.

Chap. xxx. What is it that

προστάττει τὸ Δαιμόνιον τοῖς εἰσπορευομένοις εἰς τὸν βίον ποιεῖν.

Π. θαρρεῖν, ἔφη. διὸ καὶ ὑμεῖς θαρρεῖτε· πάντα γὰρ 476  
ὑμῖν ἐξηγήσομαι, καὶ οὐδὲν παραλείψω.

Chap. XXXI. Of Τύχη he bids men, *ταύτη μὴ πιστεύειν*,  
and of her gifts, *μηδὲ ὡς ἴδια ἡγεῖσθαι* (486). She does  
nothing *μετὰ λογισμοῦ* (492).

διὰ τοῦτο οὖν τὸ Δαιμόνιον  
κελεύει μὴ θαυμάζειν ὃ τι ἀν πράττῃ αὐτῇ, μηδὲ γίγνεσθαι  
ὅμοίους τοῖς κακοῖς τραπεζίταις. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι, ὅταν 495  
μὲν λάβωσι τὸ ἀργύριον παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, χαίρουσι,  
καὶ ἴδιον νομίζουσιν εἶναι. ὅταν δὲ ἀπαιτῶνται, ἀγανακ-  
τοῦσι, καὶ δεινὰ οἰονται πεπονθέναι· οὐ μημονεύοντες,  
ὅτι ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔλαβον τὰ θέματα, ἐφ' ὃ μηδὲν κωλύειν  
τὸν θέμενον πάλιν κομίσασθαι. 500

Chap. XXXII. gives a short summary of men's right course  
in life. After staying for a time with Ψευδοπαιδεία (518), they  
are directed

λαβεῖν ὃ τι ἀν βούλωνται  
παρ' αὐτῆς, ὡσπερ ἐφόδιον· είτα ἐντεῦθεν ἀπιέναι πρὸς 520  
τὴν Ἀληθινὴν Παιδείαν συντόμως. ταῦτ' ἔστιν, ἢ προσ-  
τάττει τὸ Δαιμόνιον. ὅστις τοίνυν παρ' αὐτά τι ποιεῖ, ἢ  
παρακούει, ἀπόδλυται κακὸς κακῶς.

### § 10. LINES 524—721.

Chapters XXXIII.—XLIII. contain an epilogue led up to by  
the words of Senex, 'Ο μὲν δὴ μῦθος, ὃ ξένοι, ὃ ἐν τῷ πίνακι  
τοιοῦτος ἡμῖν ἐστίν. εἰ δὲ δεῖ τι προσπυθέσθαι περὶ ἐκάστου  
τούτων, οὐδεὶς φθόνος· ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμῖν φράσω' (526).

What is it that the Δαιμόνιον bids men take away with  
them from Ψευδοπαιδεία (528) ?

Π. γράμματα, ἔφη, καὶ τῶν ἀλλων μαθημάτων ἢ καὶ  
Πλάτων φησὶν ὡσανεὶ χαλινοῦ τινος δύναμιν ἔχειν τοῖς 532  
νέοις, ἵνα μὴ εἰς ἔτερα περισπῶνται.

They are useful things in a way,  
πρὸς δὲ τὸ βελτίους γενέσθαι οὐδὲν συμβάλλεται ταῦτα. 537

The learned are apt to be deceived about good and evil like other men (550). But why do they spend their time in the second enclosure, ὥσπερ ἐγγίζοντες πρὸς τὴν Ἀληθινὴν Παιδείαν (561)? What (replies Senex) does that profit them, when one may often see men who have come from the first enclosure,

ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀκρασίας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Κακίας εἰς τὸν τρίτον περιβόλον πρὸς τὴν Παιδείαν τὴν Ἀληθινὴν, οἱ τούτους 565 τοὺς μαθηματικοὺς παραλλάττουσιν; ὥστε, πῶς ἔτι προέχουσιν; ἄρα η ἀκινητότεροι η δυσμαθέστεροι εἰσι.

The men in the second enclosure sometimes *προσποιοῦνται* ἐπίστασθαι ἀ οὐκ (571) οἴδασιν, and so are slow to move on to Ἀληθινὴ Παιδεία (574). The Δόξαι enter there also,

ώστε οὐδὲν οὐτοι ἐκείνων βελτίους εἰσὶν, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ τούτοις συνῇ η Μεταμέλεια, καὶ πεισθώσιν ὅτι 577 οὐ Παιδείαν ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ Ψευδοπαιδείαν.

The things commonly assumed to be ἀγαθά (133) are now discussed, one of the conclusions being,

Π. οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν κακόν ἐστιν, εἰπερ αἰρετάτορόν ἐστι πολλάκις τὸ ἀποθανεῖν τοῦ ζῆν. 628

About wealth it is concluded,

Π. οὐκοῦν εἰ μέν τις ἐπίσταται τῷ πλούτῳ χρῆσθαι καλῶς καὶ ἐμπείρως, εὐ βιώσεται εἰ δὲ μὴ, κακῶς. 635

Ξ. ἀληθέστατά μοι δοκεῖς τοῦτο λέγειν.

'Εκ κακῶν cannot come ἀγαθόν (663). But wealth may come ἐκ κακῶν καὶ αἰσχρῶν, as ἐκ τοῦ προδιδόναι (665), καὶ ἀποστεῖν (666).

About the *nec bona nec mala* Hospes is "haud firmus in judicio" (713). That is because he is not habituated to the thought. Therefore, continues Senex,

rerum usum, quem paulo ante vobis indicavi, toto vitae vestrae curriculo persequimini, ut ea quae vobis diximus infigantur animis vestris eaque re vobis accedat habitus. 718

Quodsi de aliquo istorum adhuc dubitaveritis, revertimini ad me, ut ea de re id ex me cognoscatis, cuius auxilio 720 dubitatio a vobis discedat.

Thus *Kέβητος Πίναξ* ends.

#### B. HERMAE PASTOR.

##### § 1.

The subsections §§ 1—10 in A and B correspond. The letter *c* denotes the text of *Cebetis Tabula*. The Visions, Mandates, and Similitudes of *Hermae Pastor* are quoted as *Vis.*, *Sim.*, *Mand.* and from Dr Harmer's text, for which see *The Apostolic Fathers* by the late Dr J. B. Lightfoot, ed. J. R. Harmer (1891).

The *Pastor* is constructed on the same lines as the *Tabula*. Properly speaking it consists of an introductory "Book of the Church" (*Vis.* i.—iv.), followed by the longer "Book of the Shepherd," which has for preface the so-called *Vis.* v. This in the Greek is 'Αποκάλυψις, not "Ορασις. In "Cebes" an Introduction precedes the description of the *Πίναξ* (c. 56).

Like this Introduction the Book of the Church begins with some lines of narrative, 'Ο θρέψας με πέπρακέν με 'Ρόδη τινὶ εἰς Τάμην, κ.τ.λ. Thus Hermas too is a ξένος. Afterwards there is dialogue also in the *Pastor*, the second speaker next after Rhoda being Ecclesia, who is πρεσβύτης.

c. 37—45 τῆς Σφιγγός] If *Hermae Pastor* is founded upon *Cebetis Tabula*, we may look for some allusion τῷ τῆς Σφιγγὸς αἰνίγματι in the *Pastor*. Two such allusions are pointed out below, namely in the Book of the Church, which corresponds to the part of the *Tabula* in which the Sphinx appears.

Hermas in *Vis.* i. 2 sees a great white chair (*καθέδραν*), and a γυνὴ πρεσβύτης comes and sits down on it. In *Vis.* ii. 1 he sees her again, this time περιπατοῦσαν καὶ ἀναγινώσκουσαν βιβλαρίδιον. In *Vis.* iii. 2 she sits on a bench (*συμψέλιον*). In the second and third visions she is younger and younger, but always has τὰς τρίχας πρεσβυτέρας (*Vis.* iii. 10. 3—5).

Her three *μορφαί* (c. 86, 122) are explained to him in *Vis.* iii. 11—13.

In the First Vision why did she appear as old and seated on a chair? Because your spirit was aged by your infirmities and doubts. But why was she seated on a chair? Because every *ἀσθενής* sits on a chair, *ἷνα συγκρατηθῇ ἡ ἀσθένεια τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ*. There thou hast the figure of the first vision.

In the Second Vision thou sawest her standing and looking younger, but with her flesh and hair *πρεσβυτέρας*. For as when a *πρεσβύτερος* who is looking only for the last day of his life suddenly hears that a *κληρονομία* has been left to him, and is very glad and puts on strength, and *οὐκέτι κάθηται ἀλλὰ ἀνδρίζεται*, so were ye when ye heard the revelation which was made to you. Your spirits revived and ye were strengthened in the faith.

Her appearance in the Third Vision is explained thus,

XIII. Τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ὄράσει εἶδες αὐτὴν νεωτέραν καὶ καλὴν καὶ ἰλαράν, καὶ καλὴν τὴν μορφὴν αὐτῆς. 2. ὡς ἐὰν γάρ τινι λυπουμένῳ ἔλθῃ ἀγγελία ἀγαθή τις, εὐθὺς ἐπελάθετο τῶν προτέρων λυπῶν καὶ οὐδὲν ἀλλο προσδέχεται εἰ μὴ τὴν ἀγγελίαν ἣν ἤκουσεν, καὶ ισχυροποιεῖται λοιπὸν εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἀνανεοῦται αὐτοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα διὰ τὴν χαρὰν ἣν ἔλαβεν οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀνανέωσιν εἰλήφατε τῶν πνευμάτων ὑμῶν ιδόντες ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαθά. 3. καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ συμφελίου εἶδες καθημένην, ισχυρὰ ἡ θέσις· ὅτι τέσσαρας πόδας ἔχει τὸ συμφέλιον καὶ ισχυρῶς ἔστηκεν· καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόσμος διὰ τεσσάρων στοιχείων κρατεῖται. 4. οἱ οὖν μετανοήσαντες ὀλοτελῶς νέοι ἔσονται καὶ τεθεμελιωμένοι, οἱ ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας μετανοήσαντες. ἀπέχεις ὀλοτελῇ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν· μηκέτι μηδὲν αἰτήσεις περὶ ἀποκαλύψεως, ἔαν τι δὲ δέη, ἀποκαλυφθήσεται σοι.

Hermas half reveals and half conceals the source of his symbolism. What could have been the connexion in his mind between the “four feet” and becoming young again? Obviously he was playing upon the riddle of the Sphinx,

Ἐστι δίπουν ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ τετράπον, οὐ μία φωνή,  
καὶ τρίπον· ἀλλάσσει δὲ φυὴν μόνον ὅσσ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν

έρπετὰ κινεῖται ἀνά τ' αἰθέρα καὶ κατὰ πόντον.  
ἀλλ' ὅπόταν πλειστοισιν ἐρειδόμενον ποσὶ βαίνῃ,  
ἔνθα τάχος γνίοισιν ἀφαυρότατον πέλει αὐτοῦ.

His description of the bench as tetrapod lets us know that the chair was meant to be a tripod, and in *Vis.* ii. the Church walks upon her own two feet. Her continuously white hair is a mark of personal identity which may allude to something in the riddle as known to Hermas, cf. *οὐ μία φωνή*. The word *ἀνδρίζεται* in *Vis.* iii. 12. 2 suits the enigma. The decrepit elder becomes a man again and *δίπονς*. Hermas, with reference to the new birth, traces the three ages of man backwards. So elsewhere he disguises his allusions by inversion.

Again, in *Vis.* iv. he has an alarming adventure. Seeing θηρίον μέγιστον ὡσεὶ κῆτος τι approaching, he puts on the faith of the Lord and gives himself boldly to the beast; and, behold, τὸ τηλικοῦτο κῆτος ἐκτείνει ἑαυτὸ χαμαὶ καὶ οὐδὲν εἰ μὴ τὴν γλῶσσαν προέβαλλεν. In the *Tabula* the man who is to be crowned must first encounter τὰ μέγιστα θηρία (c. 369). Over these he prevails by *σύνεσις* and *ἐπιστήμη*, for which Hermas in his picture of Christian life naturally substitutes faith. His monster puts forth (*προέβαλλεν*) its tongue, as the Sphinx in Cebes puts forth (*προεβάλλετο*) her riddle. The word *προβάλλειν* does not recur in either work.

c. 49 (523) καὶ μὴ παρακούετε] *Vis.* iii. 7. 4 ἐτέλεσεν οὖν τὴν ἔξηγησιν (c. 32, 40) τοῦ πύργου. In *Vis.* iv. 2, after he has passed the θηρίον, the Church in bridal array meets Hermas, felicitates him on his saving faith, and ends with the warning, οὐαὶ τοῖς ἀκούσασιν τὰ ρήματα ταῦτα καὶ παρακούσασιν αἰρετώτερον (c. 628) ἦν αὐτοῖς τὸ μὴ γεννηθῆναι.

Hermas, obtrusively attentive and enquiring, with allusion to c. 53 f. ὡς ἡμῶν προσεξόντων οὐ παρέργως (c. 583 *πάρεργα*) *ἐπείπερ* καὶ τὸ ἐπιτίμιον τοιοῦτον ἔστιν (the last words of the Introduction), is called by the Church or the Shepherd *πανούργος*, *αὐθάδης*, *περίεργος* (*Vis.* iv. 3. 1, cf. c. 360 *ἀπεριέργως*).

## § 2.

The Πίναξ having been described in chap. I. of Cebes, the ἔξηγησις of it follows the prefatory remarks of Senex on the Sphinx. Hermas, as we shall see, makes some sort of use of everything noteworthy in the *Tabula* that he can contrive to bring into his Christian allegory.

In some cases where there is a question about the reading in *Cebetis Tabula* we shall refer to the critical edition of Carolus Praechter (Lips. 1893). Following Praechter, Mr Jerram has made "a few slight alterations" in the text in his abbreviated edit. 2 (1898), as *συνίει (bis)* for *συνίη* in c. 39.

c. 56 φάβδον τινά] Hermas and the Church having seated themselves upon the bench (*Vis.* iii. 2. 4), she ἐπάρασα φάβδον τινά λαμπράν λέγει μοι. Βλέπεις μέγα πρᾶγμα; At first he sees nothing, but afterwards he sees. Thus the pointer which Senex uses in describing the Πίναξ is converted into a magic wand with which the Church conjures up her mysterious vision of a great tower οἰκοδομούμενον ἐπὶ ὑδάτων λίθοις τετραγώνοις λαμπροῖς. What was this tower? ὁ μὲν πύργος ὃν βλέπεις οἰκοδομούμενον ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ Ἐκκλησία (*Vis.* iii. 3. 3).

Πύργος is used symbolically in the Iliad, cf. also ἀκρόπολις καὶ πύργος ἑών (Theogn.), ἐγενήθης πύργος (LXX).

c. 59 τοῦτο πρῶτον] With this beginning of the ἔξηγησις of the Πίναξ compare first the beginning of the commandments of the Shepherd, which answer to the unwritten commandment of the Δαιμῶν or Δαιμόνιον. In *Mand.* i. we discover a short practical summary of the teaching of the *Tabula*,

Πρῶτον πάντων πίστευσον ὅτι εἰς ἐστὶν ὁ Θεός, ὁ τὰ πάντα κτίσας καὶ καταρτίσας, καὶ ποιήσας ἐκ τοῦ μὴ δύντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι τὰ πάντα, καὶ πάντα χωρῶν, μόνος δὲ ἀχώρητος ἦν. 2. πίστευσον οὖν αὐτῷ καὶ φοβήθητι αὐτόν, φοβηθεὶς δὲ ἐγκράτεγει. ταῦτα φύλασσε καὶ ἀποβαλεῖς πᾶσαν πονηρίαν ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ καὶ ἐνδύσῃ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν δικαιοσύνης καὶ ζήσῃ τῷ θεῷ, ἐὰν φυλάξῃς τὴν ἐντολὴν ταύτην.

In terms of the *μυθολογία* of Cebes this would be, "Obey the *πρόσταγμα* of the *Δαιμῶν* (c. 12, 402, 474, 521), and let 'Εγκράτεια and her sister *Καρτερία* (c. 264, 272) bring thee on the way to 'Αληθινὴ Παιδεία and the abode of the blessed, where dwell *αἱ Ἀρεταὶ πάσαι καὶ ἡ Εὐδαιμονία*" (J. M. C.). The *Tabula* would have reminded Hermas of the saying in Theognis (quoted as a current *παροιμία* by Aristotle),

ἐν δὲ δικαιοσύνῃ συλλήθδην πᾶσ' ἀρετή 'στιν.

Cf. *Mand.* vi. 1. 1 Ἐνετειλάμην σοι, φησίν, ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐντόλῃ... 2. 3 λαλεῖ μετὰ σοῦ περὶ δικαιοσύνης...καὶ περὶ παντὸς ἔργου δικαίου καὶ περὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς ἐνδόξου. *Sim.* vi. 1. 4 ἐνδυσάμενοι δὲ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν δικαιοσύνης. *Sim.* x. 1. 2 *omnem virtutem aequitatis.*

c. 60 *Bίος*] In turning the *Πίναξ* into a picture of Christian life it would be natural to take a hint from St Matthew xix. 17, "if thou wilt enter into life (ζωήν), keep the commandments." Hermas accordingly turns *βίος* into *ζωή*, using *βιωτικός* in a disparaging sense of the things of "this life," as in *Mand.* v. 2. 2. In the index to Hilgenfeld's *Hermae Pastor* (1881) there are fifteen lines of references to *ζῆν τῷ θεῷ, ζωή, ζωοποιέω*, cf. *βίβλος τῆς ζωῆς, τῶν ζώντων*. Notice in *Vis.* iii. 8. 4 and *Mand.* viii. 9 *μακάριος ἐν τῷ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ* (c. 48, 194 *μακάριος ἐν τῷ βίῳ*). *Sim.* v. 6. 3 *ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς τὰς τρίβους τῆς ζωῆς* (Ps. xvi. 11).

c. 60—67 ὁ ὄχλος κ.τ.λ.] Hermas dilates upon this in his own *Πίναξ*, bringing in words and ideas of Cebes which arrest his attention. Thus in *Sim.* ix., on the second building of the tower, he writes,

XII. Πρῶτον, φημί, πάντων, κύριε, τοῦτό μοι δῆλωσον· ἡ πέτρα (c. 257) καὶ ἡ πύλη τίς ἔστιν; 'Η πέτρα, φησίν, αὗτη καὶ ἡ πύλη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔστι. Πώς, φημί, κύριε, ἡ πέτρα παλαιά ἔστιν, ἡ δὲ πύλη καινή; "Ακούε, φησί, καὶ σύνιε, ἀσύνετε. 2. ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως αὐτοῦ προγενέστερός ἔστιν, ὅστε σύμβουλον αὐτὸν γενέσθαι τῷ πατρὶ τῆς κτίσεως αὐτοῦ· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ παλαιός ἔστιν. 'Η δὲ πύλη διατί καινή, φημί, κύριε; 3. "Οτι, φησίν, ἐπ' ἐσχάτων

τῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς συντελείας φανερὸς ἐγένετο, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ νὴ ἐγένετο ἡ πύλη, ἵνα οἱ μέλλοντες σώζεσθαι δι' αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν εἰσέλθωσι τοῦ Θεοῦ....5. Εἴ οὖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν οὐ δύνη εἰσέλθειν εἰ μὴ διὰ τῆς πύλης αὐτῆς, οὔτω, φησί, καὶ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄλλως εἰσέλθειν οὐ δύναται ἄνθρωπος εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ ὄντος τοῦ νιοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. 6. εἰδες, φησί, τὸν ὄχλον τὸν οἰκοδομοῦντα τὸν πύργον; Εἰδον, φημί, κύριε. Ἐκεῖνοι, φησί, πάντες ἄγγελοι ἔνδοξοί εἰσι. τούτοις οὖν περιτείχισται ὁ Κύριος. ἡ δὲ πύλη ὁ νιὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστιν· αὐτῇ μία εἰσόδος (c. 11, 201) ἐστι πρὸς τὸν Κύριον. ἄλλως οὖν οὐδεὶς εἰσέλευσεται πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ νιοῦ αὐτοῦ (cf. c. 208 f.).

ἡ πύλη] Doubtless he alludes also to St John x. 7, 9 ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ θύρα...δι' ἐμοῦ ἔαν τις εἰσέλθῃ σωθήσεται. Borrowing πύλη here from c. 61 (cf. 285), he brings in θύρα (c. 245) in *Vis.* iii. 9, 6 ἔξω τῆς θύρας τοῦ πύργου.

μέλλοντες σώζεσθαι] Salvation is a term common to Hermas and Cebes, and both use σώζειν repeatedly. But its combination with μέλλειν here and in c. 66 f. is remarkable.

εἰσέλθωσι] All in Cebes pass through the πύλη when they enter (c. 65) into βίος. So Hermas makes all who enter into ζωή enter by the πύλη, the Son of God, the one εἰσόδος πρὸς τὸν Κύριον.

τὸν ὄχλον] Having converted the crowd at the gate of life into stones (Matt. iii. 9, 1 Pet. ii. 4, 5), Hermas might have dispensed with the word ὄχλος, but he is bent upon bringing it in. He does this by imagining a multitude of builders who, like the stones, can only enter the kingdom of God by the μία εἰσόδος. He brings in the idea of preexistence here and elsewhere without relation to men in general. But in *Sim.* i. he makes this world a foreign city, from which the servant of God will one day ἐπανακάμψαι εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν.

c. 64 προστάττει] On the injunctions of the Δαιμῶν and the ἐντολαὶ of the Shepherd see c. 401 n. (p. 312).

c. 74 Ἀπάτη] For Deceit personified Hermas has Ἀπάτη in *Sim.* ix. 15. 3 as the fourth of his women in black (p. 297).

and an Angel of Deceit in *Sim.* vi., as cited below under c. 166  
 παραδίδονται τῇ Τιμωρίᾳ.

First the Δαιμων (c. 64) appears, issuing his commands for the instruction of those entering into *βίος*, and then Ἀπάτη (c. 74), ἡ πάντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πλανῶσα. So in *Sim.* vi. 1 Hermas and the Shepherd discourse about the ἐντολαὶ and their observance, and then the Angel of Deceit is introduced.

c. 77 ποτίζει] In *Sim.* viii. 2. 7—9 water is poured upon the rods to see ἔάν τις αὐτῶν δυνηθῇ ξῆσαι, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ποτίσαι αὐτὸν τὰς ράβδους κ.τ.λ. 3. 8 πεποτισμένας. *Sim.* ix. 1. 8, 25. 1 (Gen. ii. 6) καὶ πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις τοῦ Κυρίου (c. 84 πάντες) ἐποτίζετο ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν.

c. 78 δύναμιν] In its medical sense, *drug* (Jerram). See below under c. 311 ποτίζῃ τὴν καθαρτικὴν δύναμιν.

c. 80] Cebes here and elsewhere "Αγνοία, and so Hermas in *Mand.* iv. 1. 5, *Sim.* v. 7. 3.

c. 88 Ἡδοναῖ] A Δόξα may be right or wrong, and an Ἐπιθυμία (*Mand.* xii.) or a Ἡδονή (c. 218 n.) may lead to good or evil. On Ἐπιθυμία see also c. 189 n.

c. 94 (256) χαλεπὸν] *Vis.* i. 4. 2 τὰ δὲ πρότερα χαλεπὰ καὶ σκληρά (c. 116). *Mand.* vi. 2. 10 πίστενε δὲ ὅτι τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς πονηρίας χαλεπά ἔστι. On χαλεπὰ τὰ κακά see vol. xx. 89 of this JOURNAL.

c. 95 ἐπαγγέλλονται] Hermas uses ἐπαγγελία, ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι, as in *Vis.* i. 3. 4, ii. 2. 6, iii. 1. 2, 2. 1. *Mand.* ix. 10 ἡ γὰρ πίστις πάντα ἐπαγγέλλεται, πάντα τελειοῦ. *Sim.* i. 7.

c. 98, 233 ἀληθινὴ ὁδός] *Vis.* iii. 7. 1 ἀφίουσιν τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀληθινήν.

### § 3.

Fortune and the cardinal Vices are introduced by Cebes in c. 101—160.

Very prominent in *Vis.* iii. and *Sim.* ix. are στρόγγυλος (c. 103, 113, 293) and τετράγωνος (c. 293, 299) as epithets

of the stones for the tower. Here again the *Tabula* underlies the *Pastor*. Τύχη on her round stone gives πλούτος and other things, παρὰ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν πάλιν ἀφαιρεῖται παραχρῆμα ἢ δέδωκε. Hermas connects wealth and impoverishment with στρογγυλότης by his figure of the round stones which have to be squared before they can be used for the building of the tower. The white and round stones in *Vis.* iii. 6 are they that have faith and also worldly wealth. These, ἐὰν μὴ περικοπῆ αὐτῶν ὁ πλούτος, οὐ δύνανται τῷ Κυρίῳ εὑχρηστοὶ γενέσθαι. So he writes of them in *Sim.* ix. 31. 2 (cf. 9. 1—2), “oportet autem circumcidī hoc saeculum ab illis et vanitates opum suarum, et tunc convenient in Dei regnum,” alluding again to the Gospel saying which he had quoted in *Sim.* ix. 20. 2, 3.

c. 104 f.] Fortune is οὐ μόνον τυφλή, ἀλλὰ καὶ μαινομένη καὶ κωφή. In the *Pastor*, where Fortune herself could not be described or named, it is said in effect that her votaries are blind and deaf and of unsound mind with respect to spiritual things. In *Mand.* x. 1. 4—5 we read that mere believers who give themselves to the pursuit of wealth and worldly things ἐπισκοποῦνται ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν πράξεων...οὕτως οἱ ἀνθρωποι οἱ πιστεύσαντες καὶ εἰς ταύτας τὰς πράξεις τὰς πολλὰς ἐμπίπτοντες τὰς προειρημένας ἀποπλανῶνται ἀπὸ τῆς διανοίας αὐτῶν καὶ οὐδὲν δλῶς νοοῦσι περὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης· καὶ γὰρ ὅταν ἀκούσωσι περὶ θεότητος καὶ ἀληθείας, ὁ νόος αὐτῶν περὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτῶν καταγίνεται, καὶ οὐδὲν δλῶς νοοῦσιν. *Mand.* v. 2. 7 ἀποτυφλοῦται, xi. 14 κωφοῦται.

Praechter in c. 105 reads καὶ μαινομένη, ἀλλὰ καὶ κωφή, with the note, “Nescio an καὶ μαινομένη eiciendum sit.” But Hermas, who seems to refer to the madness of Τύχη, perhaps read καὶ μαινομένη.

c. 120—131 Ἀπροβούλευτοι κ.τ.λ.] This is a section to which we should expect to find some allusion in the *Pastor*, although the gifts of Fortune could not be directly mentioned in the Christian allegory. Of the Ἀπροβούλευτοι it is said in c. 120 f., αἰτοῦσι δὲ ἔκαστος αὐτῶν ἢ βίπτει. Some seem χαίρειν (c. 123, 125), namely those who have received something from

her. Some seem κλαίειν (c. 127), namely those from whom she has taken away ἀ δέδωκε πρότερον αὐτοῖς.

Ξ. τίνα οὖν ἔστιν ἀ δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι οὗτως οἱ μὲν 130 λαμβάνοντες χαίρουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀποβάλλοντες κλαίουσι;

Hermas uses *ρίπτειν* and *ἀποβάλλειν* in describing the various fortunes of the stones for the tower, some of which ἀπέβαλλον or ἔριππον *μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου* (*Vis. iii. 2. 7*). In the next chapter revelations take the place of gifts of Fortune, and the Church replies to Hermas, who is *πανοῦργος* in his requests for explanations to be repeated by him to his brethren, 'Ακούσονται μὲν πολλοὶ ἀκούσαντες δέ τινες ἔξ αὐτῶν χαρίσονται, τινὲς δὲ κλαύσονται ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτοι, ἐὰν ἀκούσωσιν καὶ μετανοήσωσιν, καὶ αὐτοὶ χαρήσονται. ἀκούε οὖν τὰς παραβολὰς τοῦ πύργου ἀποκαλύψω γάρ σοι πάντα (*Vis. iii. 3. 2*).

c. 135 f. (cf. 165, 220, 588, 677) καὶ τὰλλα ὅσα τούτοις παραπλήσια] *Mand. vi. 2. 5* καὶ ὅσα τούτοις παραπλήσιά ἔστι καὶ ὅμοια. *Sim. viii. 7. 4* περὶ δόξης τινός. Hermas attributes much of his misfortunes to his *τέκνα* (c. 135).

c. 147 f. 'Ακρασία κ.τ.λ.] Cebes has four principal Vices, 'Ακρασία, 'Ασωτία, 'Απληστία, Κολακεία, for which Hermas substitutes the tetrad, 'Απιστία, 'Ακρασία, 'Απείθεια, 'Απάτη (c. 74). These four head the list of the twelve women in black whom Hermas names, after naming his twelve Virgins, in *Sim. ix.* thus,

XV. Διγλωσσόν μοι, φημί, κύριε, τῶν παρθένων τὰ ὄνόματα | καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν τὰ μέλανα ἴμάτια ἐνδεδυμένων. "Ακούε, φησίν, τῶν παρθένων τὰ ὄνόματα | τῶν ἴσχυροτέρων, τῶν εἰς τὰς γωνίας σταθεισῶν. 2. ἡ μὲν πρώτη Πίστις, ἡ δὲ δευτέρα 'Εγκράτεια, ἡ δὲ Γρήτη Δύναμις, ἡ δὲ τετάρτη Μακροθυμία αἱ δὲ ἔτεραι ἀγά μέσον τούτων σταθεῖσαι ταῦτα ἔχουσι τὰ ὄνόματα 'Απλότης, 'Ακακία, 'Αγνεία, 'Ιλαρότης, 'Αλίθεια, Σύνεσις, 'Ομόνοια, 'Αγάπη. ταῦτα τὰ ὄνόματα ὁ φορῶν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ νίοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνήσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν. 3. ἄκονε, φησί, καὶ τὰ ὄνόματα τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν τὰ ἴμάτια μέλανα

έχουσῶν. καὶ ἐκ τούτων τέσσαρες εἰσὶ δυνατώτεραι· ἡ πρώτη  
'Απιστία, ἡ δευτέρα 'Ακρασία, ἡ δὲ τρίτη 'Απειθεία, ἡ δὲ  
τετάρτη 'Απάτη. αἱ δὲ ἀκόλουθοι αὐτῶν καλοῦνται Λύπη,  
Πονηρία, 'Ασέλγεια, 'Οξυχολία, Ψεῦδος, 'Αφροσύνη, Καταλαλιά,  
Μίσος. ταῦτα τὰ ὄνόματα ὁ φορῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ δοῦλος τὴν  
βασιλείαν μὲν δύνεται τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἰς αὐτὴν δὲ οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται.

The cardinal Vices in the *Tabula* are dressed in the fashion of ἑταῖραι (c. 144). Hermas likewise attends to the costume and appearance of his various characters, imitating but not exactly copying Cebes. His twelve deadly Vices are appropriately dressed in black, cf. *Sim.* ix. 9. 5 ἐκλήθησαν δὲ γυναικες δώδεκα, εγειδεστάται (c. 335 εὐειδεῖς) τῷ χαρακτῆρι, μέλανα ἐνδεδυμέναι, [περιεξωσμέναι καὶ ἔξω τοὺς ὄμοις ἔχουσαι,] καὶ τὰς τρίχας (c. 176) λελυμέναι. ἐδοκοῦσαν δέ μοι αἱ γυναικες αὐταὶ ἀγριαὶ (c. 420 θηρία) εἶναι. *Sim.* ix. 13. 8 μετὰ οὖν χρόνον τινὰ διηπεισθησαν (c. 156 πεισθῆ ὑπ' αὐτῶν) ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ὃν εἶδες μέλανα ἴματια ἐνδεδυμένων, τοὺς ὄμοις ἔξω ἔχουσῶν καὶ τὰς τρίχας λελυμένας καὶ εὐμόρφων.

#### § 4.

c. 166 παραδίδονται τῇ Τιμωρίᾳ] For Τιμωρία personified Hermas in *Sim.* vi. and *Sim.* vii. has an Angel τῆς τιμωρίας. The parable of the two "Shepherds of the Sheep" in *Sim.* vi. is based upon sayings in Cebes about 'Απάτη, Τιμωρία, and the Sphinx.

In *Sim.* vi. 1 the *Pastor* appears to Hermas and says to him, "Αγωμεν εἰς ἀγρόν, καὶ δείξω σοι τοὺς ποιμένας τῶν προβάτων. And first δεικνύει μοι ποιμένα νεανίσκουν ἐνδεδυμένουν σύνθεσιν ἴματίων, τῷ χρόματι κροκώδη. The chapter ends thus, ἔβοσκε δέ πρόβατα πολλὰ λιαν, καὶ τὰ πρόβατα ταῦτα ὥστε τρυφῶντα ἦν καὶ λίαν σπαταλῶντα, καὶ ἵλαρὰ ἦν σκιρτῶντα ὡδε κάκει· καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ποιμὴν πάνυ ἵλαρὸς ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ ποιμνίῳ αὐτοῦ· καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ ἴδεα τοῦ ποιμένος ἵλαρὰ ἦν λίαν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς προβάτοις περιέτρεχε. In the next chapter and the third we read,

II. Καὶ λέγει μοι· Βλέπεις τὸν ποιμένα τούτον; Βλέπω, φημί, κύριε. Οὗτος, φησίν, ἄγγελος τρυφῆς καὶ ὀπάτης ἐστίν.

οὗτος ἔκτριβει τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν δούλων τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ καταστρέφει αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀπατῶν αὐτοὺς ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ταῖς πονηραῖς, ἐν αἷς ἀπόλλυνται. 2. ἐπιλανθάνονται γὰρ τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, καὶ πορεύονται ἀπάταις καὶ τρυφαῖς ματαίαις, καὶ ἀπόλληγνται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τούτου, τινὰ μὲν εἰς θάνατον, τινὰ δὲ εἰς καταφθοράν....5. πάλιν προέβημεν μικρόν, καὶ δεικνύει μοι ποιμένα μέγαν ὡσεὶ ἄγριον τῇ ἴδεᾳ, περικείμενον δέρμα αἴγειον λευκόν, καὶ πήραν τινὰ εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄμων, καὶ ράβδον σκληρὰν λίαν καὶ δέζους ἔχουσαν, καὶ μάστιγα μεγάλην....III. 2. λέγω τῷ ποιμένι τῷ μετ' ἐμοῦ λαλοῦντι Κύριε, τίς ἐστιν οὗτος ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ [οὗτως] ἀσπλαγχνος καὶ πικρὸς καὶ δλως μὴ σπλαγχνιζόμενος ἐπὶ τὰ πρόβατα ταῦτα; Οὗτος, φησίν, ἐστὶν ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς τιμωρίας....6. ὅταν οὖν θλιβῶσι πάσῃ θλίψει, τότε ἐμοὶ παραδίδονται εἰς ἀγαθὴν παιδείαν....καὶ τότε δοξάζουσι τὸν Θεόν, λέγοντες ὅτι δίκαιος κριτής ἐστι καὶ δικαίως ἔπαθον ἔκαστος κατὰ τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ· δουλεύοντι δὲ λοιπὸν τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν καθαρῷ καρδίᾳ | αὐτῶν, καὶ εὐοδοῦνται ἐν πάσῃ πράξει αὐτῶν, λαμβάνοντες παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου πάντα ὅσα ἀν αἰτῶνται· καὶ τότε δοξάζουσι τὸν Κύριον ὅτι ἐμοὶ παρεδόθησαν, καὶ οὐκέτι οὐδὲν πάσχουσι τῶν πονηρῶν.

ἀπάτης] To match the affected style of 'Απάτη in c. 71 f. Hermas makes his Angel of Deceit a gay young man in a saffron coloured suit. He is at first the shepherd of all the sheep, because 'Απάτη leads astray all (c. 74 f.) who enter into life. All drink of her draught of error, but some more, some less (c. 84 f.). Accordingly all the sheep go astray, but some are seen σκριπτῶντα and some μὴ σκριπτῶντα (*Sim.* vi. 2. 3—4).

ἐπιλανθάνονται κ.τ.λ.] They are destroyed by the Angel of ἀπάτη, in accordance with c. 92 f. αἱ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἀπόλλυσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην, ἐπελάθοντο γὰρ τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Δαιμονίου πρόσταγμα (c. 401 f.).

τινὰ μὲν εἰς θάνατον, τινὰ δὲ εἰς καταφθοράν] This curious contrast between θάνατος and καταφθορά is taken from c. 44 f., οὐκ εἰσάπαξ, ὕσπερ ὁ ὑπὸ τῆς Σφιγγὸς καταβρωθεὶς ἀπέθηκεν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ βίῳ καταφθείρεται. The

sheep who are σκιρτῶντα are *οἱ ἀπεσπασμένοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς τέλος*, and the μὴ σκιρτῶντα are the κατεφθαρμένοι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας, who still have hope of repentance. ἡ καταφθορὰ οὐν ἐλπίδα ἔχει ἀνανεώσεως τινος, ὁ δὲ θάνατος ἀπώλειαν ἔχει αἰώνιον. *Sim.* ix. 26. 6 εἰ δὲ μή, ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν καταφθαρήσονται εἰς θάνατον.

After c. 46 καταφθείρεται read with Praechter καθάπερ οἱ ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ παραδίδομενοι, to which Hermas may be thought to allude in *Sim.* vi. 4—5 on the duration of punishments.

τιμωρίας] ἡ μὲν τὴν μάστιγα ἔχουσα καλεῖται Τιμωρία (c. 174 f.). In *Sim.* vi. 2. 5 the Angel τῆς τιμωρίας has μάστιγα μεγάλην. In 3. 6 the Shepherd says τότε ἐμοὶ παραδίδονται, as in c. 166 it is said, παραδίδονται τῇ Τιμωρίᾳ. In Hermas (as in Cebes) Μετάνοια, when possible, follows.

c. 182 συμβιοῖ] To these, of whom one is Λύπη (c. 176), he is delivered, and with these συμβιοῖ τιμωρούμενος. *Sim.* ix. 20. 4 παραδοθήσονται ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐκείναις, of whom one is Λύπη (p. 297). 21. 4 ἥδη παραδεδόμεναι εἰσὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ κ.τ.λ. 22. 4 ἐὰν δὲ μὴ μετανοήσωσι, κατοικήσουσι μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν πονηρευομένων εἰς αὐτούς. *Vis.* v. 2 ἵνα μετὰ σοῦ οἰκήσω. *Sim.* x. 3. 1 *ut habitent tecum.*

c. 183 ἔτερον οἰκον] *Vis.* iii. 7. 5 εἰς τοῦτον τὸν πύργον οὐ δύνανται ἀρρόσται. 6 ἔτέρῳ δὲ τόπῳ ἀρμόσσοντιν πολὺ ἐλάττονι (c. 169), καὶ τοῦτο ὅταν βασανισθῶσιν καὶ ἐκπληρώσωσιν τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν...ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀναβῆ ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν μετανοῆσαι (c. 104 ἐὰν μὴ ἡ Μετάνοια), οὐ σώζονται διὰ τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν αὐτῶν. Harmer omits μετανοῆσαι.

c. 185] Read with Praechter ἐπιτύχη ἐκ προαιρέσεως συναντήσασα. Compare *Test. XII. Patr.* Reub. § 1 καὶ ἐν προαιρέσει ψυχῆς μου ἐπτὰ ἔτη μετενόησα ἐνώπιον Κυρίου.

### § 5.

c. 186 ἐὰν ἡ Μετάνοια] Μετάνοια in Cebes is an intellectual change from ἀφροσύνη to σύνεσις, which delivers from Ψευδοδοξίᾳ. Hermas uses the term in its ethical and

Christian sense, but with allusion to the Πίναξ he makes out that repentance is also σύνεσις. In *Mand.* iv. he writes,

II. Ἡρώτησα αὐτὸν πάλιν λέγων· Ἐπεὶ ὁ Κύριος ἄξιον με ἡγήσατο ὡνα μετ' ἐμοῦ πάντοτε κατοικῆς, ὀλίγα μου ῥήματα ἔτι ἀνάσχου, ἐπεὶ οὐ συνίω οὐδέν, καὶ ἡ καρδία μου πεπώρωται ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων μου πράξεων· συνέτισόν με, ὅτι λίαν ἀφρων εἰμὶ καὶ ὅλως οὐθὲν νοῶ. 2. ἀποκριθεὶς μοι λέγει· Ἐγώ, φησίν, ἐπὶ τῆς μετανοίας εἰμὶ καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς μετανοοῦσιν σύνεσιν δίδωμι. ἡ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι, φησίν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ μετανοῆσαι σύνεσιν εἶναι; τὸ μετανοῆσαι, φησί, σύνεσίς ἐστιν μεγάλη.... βλέπεις οὖν ὅτι ἡ μετάνοια σύνεσίς ἐστιν μεγάλη.

Repentance in the *Pastor* is subject to law and comes ἐκ προαιρέσεως, various passages representing it as predestined to be or not to be. An Angel has ἔξονσία over it (*Mand.* iv. 3. 5). It is given or not given (*Sim.* viii. 6. 2). Cf. also *Sim.* ix. 23. 5 λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς μετανοίας, ὅσοι ταύτην ἔχετε τὴν ἀίρεσιν, ἀπόθεσθε αὐτὴν καὶ μετανοήσατε, where possibly *αίρεσιν* was suggested by *προαιρέσεως* (J. M. C.).

c. 189 ἑτέραν Δόξαν (καὶ Ἐπιθυμίαν)] So Praechter with brackets. Hermas writes at the end of *Mand.* xi. τούτῳ οὖν τῷ πνεύματι πιστεύει, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἀπέχου. In *Mand.* xii. he speaks of ἐπιθυμίαι pl. (c. 88), and he personifies two Ἐπιθυμίαι, the πονηρά and the ἀγαθή. *Sim.* ix. 14. 1 τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῶν γυναικῶν τούτων.

c. 205] With inverted reference to the *Tabula*, Hermas is made to mistake the Church for the Sibyl, the true teacher for the false. The *νεανίσκος* in *Vis.* ii. 4. 1 asks him, Τὴν πρεσβυτέραν, παρ' ἡς ἔλαβες τὸ βιβλίδιον, τίνα δοκεῖς εἶναι; ἐγώ φημι· Τὴν Σίβυλλαν. Πλανᾶσαι, φησίν, οὐκ ἐστιν. Τίς οὖν ἐστίν; φημί. Ἡ Ἐκκλησία, φησίν. In Cebes the man who does not receive the ἑτέρα Δόξα that will lead him to Ἀληθινὴ Παιδεία, πάλιν πλανᾶται (c. 195) ὑπὸ τῆς Ψευδοδοξίας. Most men mistake a respectable looking woman whom Senex points out for Παιδεία· οὐκ ἐστι δέ (c. 205), ἀλλὰ Ψευδοπαιδεία, ἐφη. Men are seen within the enclosure in her company, οἰόμενοι μετὰ τῆς Ἀληθινῆς Παιδείας συνομιλεῖν (c. 214). Even οἱ σωζόμενοι come ὡδε πρῶτον (c. 207), for there is no other way.

Hermas repeats his mistake in *Vis.* v. 3 by thinking at first that the Shepherd is not the Shepherd, Σὺ γὰρ τίς εἶ; ἐγὼ γάρ, φημί, γινώσκω φαρέδοθην.

Human life is ruined by uncertainty (c. 406 ἐνεδοίαξε). Men live κακῶς, thinking the not ἀγαθά ἀγαθά, and the not κακά κακά (c. 409). The learned are no better off than others unless they too have Μεταμέλεια with them, and are persuaded that οὐ Παιδείαν ἔχουσιν ἀλλὰ Ψευδοπαιδείαν (c. 578).

*Sim.* iii. likens this *αἰών* to the season of winter, in which the trees are all leafless and ὡσεὶ ξηρά. Why are they all ὡσεὶ ξηρά καὶ ὅμοια? Because οὕτε οἱ δίκαιοι φαίνονται οὕτε οἱ ἀμαρτωλοὶ ἐν τῷ αἰώνι τούτῳ, ἀλλ’ ὅμοιοι εἰσιν· ὁ γὰρ αἰών οὗτος τοῖς δίκαιοις χειμών ἔστι, καὶ οὐ φαίνονται μετὰ τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν κατοικοῦντες.

*Sim.* iv. completes the parable by comparing the coming *αἰών* to θέρος, in which πάντες φανερωθήσονται.

c. 218 [Ηδονικοί] Ηδονή (c. 88) as a motive may lead to good or evil. Compare in *Hermae Pastor*,

*Sim.* vi. 5. 5. Ποῖα, φημί, κύριε, τρυφαί εἰσι βλαβεραί; Πᾶσα, φησί, πρᾶξις τρυφή ἔστι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, διὰ τοῦτο οὐδέως ποιῆται γὰρ ὁ δξύχολος τῷ ἑαυτοῦ πάθει τὸ ίκανὸν ποιῶν τρυφᾶν· καὶ ὁ μοιχὸς καὶ ὁ μέθυστος (c. 553) καὶ ὁ κατάλαλος καὶ ὁ ψεύστης καὶ ὁ πλεονέκτης καὶ ὁ ἀποστερητής (c. 164, 666 ἀποστερεῶν) καὶ ὁ τούτοις τὰ ὅμοια ποιῶν τῇ ιδίᾳ νόσῳ (c. 316, 319) τὸ ίκανὸν ποιεῖ· τρυφᾶν οὖν ἐπὶ τῇ πρᾶξει αὐτοῦ. 6. αὐταὶ πᾶσαι αἱ τρυφαὶ βλαβεραί εἰσι τοῖς δύολοις τοῦ Θεοῦ. διὰ ταύτας οὖν τὰς ἀπάτας πάσχοντιν οἱ τιμωρούμενοι καὶ βασανίζομενοι. 7. εἰσὶν δὲ καὶ τρυφαὶ σώζονται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἀγαθὰ ἐργαζόμενοι τρυφῶσι τῇ ἑαυτῶν ήδονῇ φερόμενοι.

*Sim.* viii. 8. 5. τούτοις οὖν ἔστι μετάνοια, ἐὰν ταχὺ μετανοήσωσι καὶ μὴ ἐπιμείνωσι ταῖς ήδοναῖς αὐτῶν· ἐὰν δὲ ἐπιμείνωσι ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ οὕτοι θάνατον ἑαυτοῖς κατεργάζονται.

*Sim.* viii. 9. 1. καὶ αὐτῇ ἡ ὁδὸς ήδητέρα αὐτοῦς ἐγένετο... 4. τῶν δὲ μὴ μετανοούντων, ἀλλ’ ἐπιμενόντων ταῖς ήδοναῖς, οἱ θάνατος ἐγγύς.

In *Mand.* x. 3. 3, xii. 5. 3 ἡδονή is pleasantness of taste.

c. 221 f. *ai δοκοῦσαι περιτρέχειν*] These are the women dressed ὡσπερ ἑταῖραι (c. 144). *Apost. Const.* iii. 6 (with reference to a saying of Polycarp) γυνωριζέτω οὖν ἡ χήρα ὅτι θυσιαστήριον ἔστι Θεοῦ καὶ καθίσθω ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτῆς...οὐδὲ γάρ ποτε τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ περιτρέχει, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ἐνὶ τόπῳ ἰδρυται. The Angel of Deceit ἐν τοῖς προβάτοις περιέτρεχε (*Sim.* vi. 1. 6). The Virgins do not gad about, but they stand round the gate, *ai δοκοῦσαι δυναται εἶναι* and the rest, each in her own place, while the men who are to build are ὁδε κάκεῦσε περιτρεχόντων (*Sim.* ix. 3. 1—2, 4. 1).

c. 226 *σπανίως*] *Vis.* iv. 1. 2 φρεδίως (al. ἀραιῶς, al. *σπανίως*) δὲ ὄδευεται ὁ τόπος. 3 μόνος οὖν περιπατῶν κ.τ.λ.

c. 230—234] Ἀφροσύνη remains in them μέχρις ἀν πίωσι τὴν τούτων καθαρικὴν δύναμιν. *Sim.* vi. 5. 2 Ἡ ἀφροσύνη σου παράμονός ἔστι, καὶ οὐ θέλεις σου τὴν καρδίαν καθαρίσαι καὶ δουλεύειν τῷ θεῷ.

### § 6.

c. 240—278 *Ποία ἡ ὁδός;*] The site of the tower on the great rock in *Sim.* ix. 2. 1 (c. 257 f. *πέτραν μεγάλην*) and the way to Ἀληθινὴ Παιδεία and the abode of the blessed correspond to the place of the abode of Virtue and the way to it as described by Hesiod in his lines cited by Xenophon in *Mem. Socr.* ii. 1. 20,

τὴν μὲν γὰρ κακότητα καὶ ἴλαδὸν ἔστιν ἐλέσθαι  
ρηδίως· λείη μὲν ὁδός, μάλα δὲ ἐγγύθι ναιεῖ.  
τῆς δὲ ἀρετῆς ἰδρώτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν  
ἀθάνατοι· μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὅρθιος οἶμος ἐς αὐτὴν  
καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπὴν εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηαι,  
ρηιδίη δὴ ἔπειτα πέλει, χαλεπή περ ἐοῦσα.

Cebes in his description of the way uses words as ἀνοδία, βουνός, κρημνός not used by Hesiod, and represents the wayfarers as helped from above. In both respects Hermas follows or imitates Cebes.

On the way to Ἀληθινὴ Παιδεία there is ὡσπερ ἀνοδία τις (c. 247). The way runs at first between κρημνογύς (c. 251) toward πέτραν ἀπόκρημνον (c. 258) ἐπὶ τοῦ βογνοῦ, but those who persevere in it εἰτα ἔξουσιν εἰς ὁδὸν καλήν (c. 269). The last part of the way is ὁμαλή (c. 277) and εὐπόρευτος and καθαρὰ παντὸς κακοῦ.

c. 247 δὶ' ἀνοδίας τινός] This is “the reading of the best MSS...V. reads δυστανόδου” (Jerram), cf. c. 442 πλανῶνται ἀνοδίᾳ. With ὡσπερ δὶ' ἀνοδίας agrees c. 271 ὄρῳ γὰρ ὁδὸν φέρουσαν οὐδεμίαν ἐπ' αὐτήν.

“Cebes of course has in view in his allegory, as Hermas also has, the celebrated myth of the Two Ways. The earliest example of the connexion of ἀνοδία with this myth seems to be in Philo ii. p. 156. I have found six other examples in Philo. It is of some importance to remark that the connexion of the word with καρτερία, as here by Cebes (c. xv. f.), is borrowed from Philo i. p. 316” (J. M. C.).

Philo writes in lib. III. of *De Mose* (Mangey, ii. 156)... σύμβολον ἀνυπαιτίου ζωῆς καὶ βίου καθαρεύοντος ἐν πράξεσιν ἐπαινεταῖς, οὐ τὴν τραχείαν κακίας ὁδὸν, ἡ κυριώτερον εἰπεῖν ἀνοδίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν δὶ' ἀρετῆς λεώφορον ἀπευθύνοντος.

c. 262, 266 ἐκτετάκασι τὰς χεῖρας] This stretching out of the hands of Ἐγκράτεια and Καρτερία, with c. 123 f. ἐκτετάκότες τὰς χεῖρας and c. 126 οἱ εὐληφότες τι παρ' αὐτῆς, accounts for the σημείον ἐκπετάσεως in *Sim.* ix. 3. 2 ἐκπεπτάκεισαν δὲ τὰς χεῖρας αἱ παρθένοι (of whom one Ἐγκράτεια καλεῖται) ὡς μέλλουσαι τι λαμβάνειν παρὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν. In *Sim.* ix. 5. 1 there is a short rest from building (c. 274). With c. 274 f. (304) Ἰσχὺν καὶ Θάρσος cf. *Sim.* ix. 1. 2 ἴσχυί, *Vis.* iii. 1. 5 ἐν ἐμαυτῷ γενόμενος καὶ λαβὼν θάρσος.

c. 264 Ἐγκράτεια καλεῖται] Second to Faith in *Vis.* iii. 8. 4 is her daughter who Ἐγκράτεια καλεῖται. The cardinal Virgins in *Sim.* ix. 15 are Πίστις, Ἐγκράτεια, Δύναμις, Μακροθυμία. For Ἐγκράτεια cf. *Vis.* ii. 3. 2; *Mand.* vi. 1. 1, viii. 1.

What, asks Hermas, are the twelve Virgins?

*Sim. ix.* 13. 2 ἄγια πνεύματά είσι, cf. 13. 7 λαβόντες οὖν τὰ πνεύματα ταῦτα ἐνεδυναμώθησαν. 15. 6 ταῦτα τὰ πνεύματα ἐφόρεσαν. 16. 1 καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἐτέθεσαν πεφορηκότες τὰ πνεύματα ταῦτα.

c. 270 f. πῶς ἀναβαίνουσιν;] The reply is *αὗται ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημνοῦ προσκαταβαίνουσι κ.τ.λ.* Compare *Sim. ix.* 16. 6 κατέβησαν οὖν μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ὄδωρ, καὶ πάλιν ἀνέβησαν. 7 διὰ τοῦτο καὶ συνανέβησαν μετ' αὐτῶν.

c. 273 ἔλκουσιν ἀνω] The first tower standing low down ἐπὶ ὄδατων, Hermas to bring in ἔλκειν ἀνω imagines stones for the building of it ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ ἔλκομένους (*Vis. iii. 2. 6, 5. 2*).

Compare also,

*Vis. i. 1. 3.* μετὰ χρόνον τινὰ πορευομένου μου εἰς Κούμας καὶ δαξάζοντος τὰς κτίσεις τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς μεγάλαι καὶ ἐκπρεπεῖς καὶ δυναταὶ εἰσιν, περιπατῶν ἀφύπνιστα. καὶ πνεῦμά με ἔλαβεν καὶ ἀπήνεγκέν με δι' ἀνοδίας τινός, δι' ἡς ἀνθρωπος οὐκ ἔδύνατο ὀδένσαι· ἦν δὲ ὁ τόπος κρημνώδης καὶ ἀπερρηγώς ἀπὸ τῶν ὄδατων. διαβὰς οὖν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐκεῖνον ἥλθον εἰς τὰ ὄμαλά, καὶ τιθῶ τὰ γόνατα καὶ ἡρξάμην προσεύχεσθαι τῷ Κυρίῳ καὶ ἔξομολογεῦσθαι μου τὰς ἀμαρτίας.

*Vis. ii. 1. 1.* Πορευομένου μου εἰς Κούμας κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν δον καὶ πέρυσι, περιπατῶν ἀνεμνήσθην τῆς περυσινῆς ὄράσεως, καὶ πάλιν με αἴρει πνεῦμα καὶ ἀποφέρει εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον ὅπου καὶ πέρυσι.

*Vis. iii. 7. 1.* Τοὺς δὲ ἔτέρους λίθους, οὓς εἶδες μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου ῥιπτομένους καὶ πίπτοντας εἰς τὴν ὄδὸν καὶ κυλιομένους ἐκ τῆς ὄδοιν εἰς τὰς δημοδίας· οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ πεπιστευκότες μέν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διψυχίας αὐτῶν ἀφίουσιν τὴν ὄδὸν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀληθινήν (p. 294). δοκοῦντες οὖν βελτίονα ὄδὸν δύνασθαι εὑρεῖν, πλανῶνται καὶ ταλαιπωροῦσιν περιπατοῦντες ἐν ταῖς δημοδίαις.

*Mand. vi. 1. 2.* σὺ οὖν πίστευε τῷ δικαίῳ, τῷ δὲ ἀδίκῳ μὴ πιστεύσῃς· τὸ γὰρ δίκαιον ὄρθην ὄδὸν ἔχει, τὸ δὲ ἀδίκον στρεβλήν. ἀλλὰ σὺ τῇ ὄρθῃ ὄδῷ πορεύουν [καὶ ὄμαλῃ], τὴν δὲ στρεβλήν ἔσσον. 3. η γὰρ στρεβλὴ ὄδὸς τρίβους οὐκ ἔχει,

ἀλλ' ἀνοδίας καὶ προσκόμματα πολλά, καὶ τραχεῖά ἔστι καὶ ἀκανθώδης. Βλαβερὰ (c. 605) οὖν ἔστι τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ πορευομένοις. 4. οἱ δὲ τῇ ὄρθῃ ὁδῷ πορευόμενοι ὁμαλῶς περιπατοῦσι καὶ ἀπροσκόπτωσι (cf. *Mand.* ii. 4).

*Sim.* vi. 2. 6. καὶ ἔβαλλεν αὐτὰ εἰς τινα τόπον κρημνώδην.

*Sim.* ix. 10. 1. δεῖ γὰρ τοῦ πύργου τὰ κύκλῳ πάντα ὁμαλὸν γενέσθαι.

As the climbers on the way to Παιδεία are dragged up the ὁδὸς ἀνοδος by Ἐγκράτεια and Καρτερία, so in *Sim.* ix. 4, 8, 15 the stones of the tower, which as Ecclesia represents Παιδεία (§ 7), are carried to their places by Ἐγκράτεια and the other Virgins. But these Virgins are spirits (*Sim.* ix. 13. 2). Accordingly in *Vis.* i. 1. 3 a πνεῦμα carries Hermas through the ἀνοδία, and this is repeated in *Vis.* ii. 1. 1. Thus we have πνεῦμα, πνεῦμα corresponding to Ἐγκράτεια and Καρτερία in Cebes. *Vis.* iii. 8. 2 (p. 309) 'Ο πύργος οὗτος ὑπὸ τούτων (of whom one is Ἐγκράτεια) βαστάζεται.

In *Vis.* i. 1 again Rhoda greeting Hermas from heaven takes the place of Ἐγκράτεια on the rock. Rhoda first charges Hermas with having sinned against her, and then encourages him (c. 267 παρακαλοῦσιν). Afterwards Ecclesia enters, and she reads out ρήματα ἔκφρικτα ending with σύμφορα καὶ ἡμέρα, such as ίδον μεθιστάνει τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ τὰ ὅρη καὶ τοὺς θογοὺς καὶ τὰς θαλάσσας, καὶ πάντα ὁμαλὸν γίνεται τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς αὐτοῦ (3. 3—4).

In *Vis.* ii. 3. 2 she says, ἀλλὰ σώζει σε τὸ μὴ ἀποστῆναι σε ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ζῶντος, καὶ ἡ ἀπλότης σου καὶ ἡ πολλὴ ἐγκράτεια· ταῦτα σέσωκέν σε, ἐὰν ἐμμείνῃς, καὶ πάντας σώζει τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐργαζομένους καὶ πορευομένους ἐν ἀκακίᾳ καὶ ἀπλότητι. οὗτοι κατισχύουσιν πάσης πονηρίας καὶ παραμένουσιν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. He has been in difficulties, but Ἐγκράτεια has helped to bring him safe through. On Ἐγκράτεια see also c. 59 n.

With the ἀνοδία which has to be passed on the way to Παιδεία, and in *Vis.* i., ii. on the way to Ecclesia, compare in

Philo *De Ebrietate* § 13 (M. i. 364) καὶ σχεδὸν τοῦτο συνέβη πολλαῖς τῶν ἀνοδίᾳ πρὸς παιδείαν χρησαμένων\*.

c. 282 φωτὶ πολλῷ] The Church is seen ἐν ἴματισμῷ λαμπροτάτῳ (*Vis.* i. 2. 2), and the tower and its stones are λαμπροί. *Sim.* ix. 2. 2 ἡ δὲ πύλη οὐτως ἔστιλβεν ὑπὲρ τὸν ἥλιον ὥστε με θαυμάζειν ἐπὶ τῇ λαμπηδόνι τῆς πύλης.

c. 287 εὐδαιμόνων οἰκητήριον] Of the seven Virtues it is said in *Vis.* iii. 8. 8 ὃς δ' ἀν δουλεύσῃ ταύταις καὶ ἴσχυσῃ κρατῆσαι (c. 381) τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ πύργῳ ἔξει τὴν κατοικησιν μετὰ τῶν ἀγίων τοῦ Θεοῦ. In *Sim.* viii. also the tower is the abode of the blessed. In *Sim.* ix. they are the stones of which it is built with the help of the Virgins.

c. 288 αἱ Ἀρεταὶ πᾶσαι καὶ ἡ Εὐδαιμονία] In *Vis.* iii. 10 the Church, ἵλαρὰ εἰς τέλος, takes the place of Εὐδαιμονία and is carried off to dwell in the tower, with the Virtues round about her (p. 309). The ἀνὴρ ὑψηλός and the Virgins form a corresponding group in *Sim.* ix. 6. In *Sim.* ix. 24. 4 to dwell with the Son of God is εὐδαιμονία.

c. 289 ὡς καλόν] In *Sim.* ix. 9. 7 the Shepherd admires the tower, for οὐτως ἦν φύκοδομημένος ὥστε με ἰδόντα ἐπιθυμεῖν τὴν οἰκοδομὴν αὐτοῦ.

### § 7.

c. 294, 299 τετραγώνου] The character in Hermas that corresponds to Παιδεία is the Church, which as the tower stands on a square rock (*Sim.* ix. 2. 1), and in the form of a woman is seen both ἔστηκυῖα and sitting upon a bench with four feet (*Vis.* iii. 12. 1, 13. 3), which is described as κείμενον (ib. 1. 3. c. 294 κειμένου). She inculcates ἀληθινὴ παιδεία in *Vis.* ii. 3. 1 παιδευθήσονται γὰρ παιδείᾳ δικαίᾳ, and *Vis.* iii. 9. 10 πῶς ὑμεῖς παιδεύειν θέλετε τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς Κυρίου, αὐτοὶ μὴ ἔχοντες παιδείαν; παιδεύετε οὖν ἀλλήλους καὶ εἰρηνεύετε ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἵνα κάγῳ κατέναντι τοῦ πατρὸς ἵλαρὰ σταθεῖσα λόγον ἀποδῶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πάντων τῷ Κυρίῳ ὑμῶν. In

\* See Philo ed. Mangey (M.), or ed. Cohn et Wendland.

*Sim. vi. 3. 6* the Shepherd, the Angel of Repentance, says  
τότε ἐμοὶ παραδίδονται εἰς ἀγαθὴν παιδείαν.

As befits her character of teacher the Church appears with a *βιβλίον* from which she reads aloud in *Vis. i.*, and in *Vis. ii.* as reading a *βιβλαρίδιον* or *βιβλίδιον*, which Hermas copies *πρὸς γράμμα*. In *Vis. iii. 2*, sitting on the bench, she shews the building of the tower.

The book of Proverbs associates *παιδεία* with wisdom, which it personifies. Σοφίαν καὶ παιδείαν ἀσεβεῖς ἔχουσθενήσουσιν, what they dislike being wisdom in the character of *παιδεία*. In Sir. vi. 22—24 σοφία γὰρ κατὰ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς ἔστιν, καὶ οὐ πολλοῖς ἔστιν φανερά, the word *σοφία* according to the Cairene Hebrew text is a free rendering of **רְבָוָת**, *παιδεία*. The Church in *Vis. ii. 4. 1* πάντων πρώτη ἐκτίσθη. In Sir. i. 4 προτέρα πάντων ἐκτίσται σοφία, καὶ σύνεσις φρονήσεως ἐξ αἰώνος. Prov. viii. 23 πρὸ τοῦ αἰώνος ἐθεμελίωσέ με suits Ecclesia as the tower. Ecclesia uses the word *σοφία* in *Vis. i. 3. 4*, thus, καὶ τῇ ἴδιᾳ σοφίᾳ (c. 20) καὶ προνοίᾳ κτίσας τὴν ἀγίαν ἐκκλησίαν αὐτοῦ. In *Vis. iii. 9. 1* Ἀκούσατέ μου, τέκνα suits the character of *Παιδεία* μήτηρ in Philo *De Ebr.* § 20 (M. i. 369), and c. 295 θυγατέρες τινὲς δοκοῦσαι εἶναι.

The Church sits μόνη on the chair (*Vis. i. 2. 2*), but sits with Hermas, a son of the Church, on the bench (*Vis. iii. 2. 4*). So in *Mand. xi.* the true prophets sit together on the bench, but the separatist *ψευδοπροφήτης* sits by himself on the chair. The contrast is suggested by that of the solitary Τύχη on her rolling stone with *Παιδεία* standing ἐπὶ λίθου τετραγώνου between her daughters *Ἀληθεία* and *Πειθώ*. Answering to *Παιδεία* also as καλή, μέση δὲ καὶ κεκριμένη τῇ ἡλικίᾳ (c. 292), the Church in the third vision is ὄλη νεωτέρα καὶ κάλλει ἐκπρεπεστάτη, μόνας δὲ τὰς τρίχας πρεσβυτέρας εἰχεν (*Vis. iii. 10. 5*). But Hermas glorifies her attire, making it λαμπρότατος (*Vis. i. 2. 2*), as he makes her wand bright and the stones of the tower bright (*Vis. iii. 2. 4*). On *Ψευδοπαιδεία* see page 318.

c. 300, 513 *βεβαία*] *Βεβαιότης* is an attribute of *Παιδεία*, and the opposite of Τύχη (c. 110, 115, 485). *Vis. iii. 4. 3* *βέβαια καὶ τεθεμελιωμένα*.

c. 311 ποτίζῃ τὴν καθαρτικὴν δύναμιν] With allusion to this quasi-Pythagorean (c. 20 f.) doctrine of κάθαρσις, Hermas several times uses καθαρίζειν, for c. καθαίρειν (323 ἐκκαθ.). He also follows Cebes in using δύναμις in both good and bad senses. For καθαρίζειν see the following passages *inter alia*,

*Vis.* iii. 9. 7. νῦν οὖν ὑμῖν λέγω τοῖς προηγουμένοις τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῖς πρωτοκαθεδρίταις· μὴ γίνεσθε ὅμοιοι τοῖς φαρμακοῖς. οἱ φαρμακοὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ φάρμακα (c. 428 ἀντιφ.) ἔαντων εἰς τὰς πυξίδας βαστάζουσιν, ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸ φάρμακον ὑμῶν καὶ τὸν ἵὸν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν. 8. ἐνεσκιρωμένοι ἐστὲ καὶ οὐ θέλετε καθαρίσαι τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν καὶ συνκεράσαι ὑμῶν τὴν φρόνησιν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸν ἐν καθαρῇ καρδίᾳ, ἵνα σχῆτε ἔλεος παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ μεγάλου.

So Seneca in *Lactant.* iii. 15 (ap. Hilgf. *post Cotel.*) of philosophers' denunciations of vices, "quae nou aliter intueri decet quam medicos quorum tituli remedia habent, *pyxides venena*."

*Mand.* ix. 7. καθάρικον οὖν τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀπὸ τῆς διψυχίας (*Jas.* iv. 8).

*Mand.* x. 3. 3. Διατί, φημί, οὐκ ἀναβαίνει ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἡ ἔντευξις τοῦ λυπουμένου; "Οτι, φησὶν, ἡ λύπη ἐγκάθηται εἰς τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ· μεμιγμένη οὖν ἡ λύπη μετὰ τῆς ἔντεύξεως οὐκ ἀφίσι τὴν ἔντευξιν ἀναβῆται καθαρὰν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον. ὥσπερ γάρ ὅξος οὖν φ μεμιγμένον ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸν τὴν αὐτὴν ἡδονὴν οὐκ ἔχει, οὕτω καὶ ἡ λύπη μεμιγμένη μετὰ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος τὴν αὐτὴν ἔντευξιν οὐκ ἔχει. 4. καθάρικον οὖν σεαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς λύπης τῆς πονηρᾶς ταύτης, καὶ ζῆσῃ τῷ Θεῷ.

In *Sim.* ix. 10 the cathartic powers of the Virgins are brooms and water.

### § 8.

c. 339 ἡ μὲν πρώτη Ἐπιστήμη, cf. 306, 331, 410 f., 467 f., 512] Second to Ἐπιστήμη is Ἐγκράτεια, whom Hermas

adopts as his second Virtue in *Sim.* ix. 15 (p. 296), and in *Vis.* iii. thus,

VIII. 2. Βλέπεις ἐπτὰ γυναῖκας κύκλῳ τοῦ πύργου; Βλέπω, φημί, κυρία. 'Ο πύργος οὗτος' ὑπὸ τούτων βαστάζεται κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ Κυρίου. 3. ἄκουε νῦν τὰς ἐνεργείας αὐτῶν. ἡ μὲν πρώτη αὐτῶν, ἡ κρατοῦσα τὰς χεῖρας, Πίστις καλεῖται διὰ ταύτης σώζονται οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ. 4. ἡ δὲ ἔτερα, ἡ περιεζωσμένη καὶ ἀνδριζομένη, 'Εγκράτεια καλεῖται αὗτη θυγάτηρ ἐστὶν τῆς Πίστεως....5. Αἱ δὲ ἔτεραι, κυρία, τίνες εἰσίν; Θυγατέρες ἀλλήλων εἰσίν....ὅταν οὖν τὰ ἔργα τῆς μητρός (c. 351) αὐτῶν πάντα ποιήσῃς, δύνασαι ζῆσαι. 6. "Ηθελον, φημί, γυναι, κυρία, τίς τίνα δύναμιν ἔχει αὐτῶν. "Ακούε, φησίν, τὰς δυνάμεις ἄς ἔχουσιν. 7. κρατοῦνται δὲ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτῶν καὶ ἀκολογθοῦσιν ἀλλήλαις, καθὼς καὶ γεγεννημέναι εἰσίν. ἐκ τῆς Πίστεως γεννᾶται 'Εγκράτεια, ἐκ τῆς 'Εγκρατείας Ἀπλότης, ἐκ τῆς 'Απλότητος Ἀκακία, ἐκ τῆς 'Ακακίας Σεμνότης, ἐκ τῆς Σεμνότητος 'Επιστήμη, ἐκ τῆς 'Επιστήμης Ἀγάπη. τούτων οὖν τὰ ἔργα ἀγνὰ καὶ σεμνὰ καὶ θειά ἐστιν. 8. ὃς ἀν οὖν δουλεύσῃ (c. 372) ταύταις καὶ ἴσχυσῃ κρατῆσαι τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν, ἐν τῷ πύργῳ ἔξει τὴν κατοικησιν μετὰ τῶν ἀγίων τοῦ Θεοῦ (c. 287).

Of the seven women seen here κύκλῳ τοῦ πύργου, and of the twelve Virgins in *Sim.* ix. 15 (p. 296), the first and the last are the first and the last of St Paul's triad, "Faith, Hope, Charity," and of the ogdoad in 2 Pet. i. 5—7.

While Hermas naturally gives the first place to Faith, 'Επιστήμη is one of his seven, and Σύνεσις one of his twelve Virtues. He protests repeatedly that the πιστός must have knowledge and intelligence. To the μακρόθυμος and συνετός his Ποιμήν in *Mand.* v. 1. 1 promises πάντων τῶν πονηρῶν ἔργων κατακυριεύσεις καὶ ἔργάση πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην. By the powers of Σύνεσις and Καρτερία, so to say, a man prevails over all the θηρία and attains to all the Virtues.

τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν] It was a question with philosophers whether virtue is a science, πότερον διδακτόν ἐστιν ἡ ἀρετή; Cebes makes the "other Virtues" sisters of 'Επιστήμη, and makes Εὐδαιμονία "the mother" (c. 351). In *Vis.* iii. 8 Faith

is the mother of Ἐγκράτεια, and she of Ἀπλότης, and so on. Cf. No. 39 of the JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY, pages 77, 87.

ἀκολούθοις ἀλλήλαις] *Epist. Polyc.* § 3 πίστιν, ὅτις ἔστιν μήτηρ πάντων ἡμῶν, ἐπακολούθοις (c. 448) τῆς ἐλπίδος, προαγούσης τῆς ἀγάπης. *Procopius* 292 a, in *Wendland's Fragmente Philos*, page 51 (Berlin, 1891), τὰς ἀρετὰς τὰς ἀντακολούθουσας ἀλλήλαις.

On the vices compare *Mand.* v. 2. 4 εἴτα ἐκ τῆς ἀφροσύνης γίνεται πικρία, ἐκ δὲ τῆς πικρίας θυμός (c. 328), κ.τ.λ. *Mand.* viii. 4 τὰ ἀκόλουθα. x. 1. 1...τὴν λύπην καὶ γὰρ αὐτη ἀδελφή ἔστι τῆς διψυχίας καὶ τῆς ὀξυχολίας. xii. 2. 2 αὐτη γὰρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία ἡ πονηρὰ τοῦ διαβόλου θυγάτηρ ἔστιν.

c. 351—363 Εὐδαιμονία] With τὴν μητέρα cf. *Vis.* iii. 9. 10 ἵνα κάγῳ κατέναντι τοῦ πατρὸς ἵλαρὰ σταθεῖσα κ.τ.λ. The tower on the rock in *Sim.* ix. 2, which is higher than the περίβολος of mountains, is like an ἀκρόπολις (c. 356). For the two thrones in c. 69, 359 Hermas has his chair and bench (p. 289). Εὐδαιμονία wears a crown (c. 360), and the Church in her bridal array is capped with a μίτρα (*Vis.* iv. 2. 1), both being said to be κεκοσμημένη. As Εὐδαιμονία (c. 288 n.) the Church greets Hermas when he is crowned with victory against the beast.

c. 365—382 στεφανοῖ αὐτὸν κ.τ.λ.] The men who have prevailed in the μεγίστους ἀγῶνας and over the μέγιστα θηρία are crowned. *Mand.* xii. 2. 5 σὺ οὖν στεφανωθεὶς (c. 386) κατ' αὐτῆς (the evil Ἐπιθυμία) ἐλθε πρὸς τὴν Ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς δικαιοσύνης, καὶ παραδοὺς αὐτῇ τὸ νίκος (c. 383, 389) δὲ λαβεῖς δούλεγον αὐτῇ καθὼς αὐτῇ βούλεται.

Cebes, with reference to the Vices, ταύταις ταῖς γυναιξὶ δουλεύειν (c. 161 f.). *Philo De Cherub.* § 22 (M. i. 152) ἐάν δὲ μέχρι παντὸς ἀπαιδαγώγητον καὶ ἀδίδακτον ἔάσης σεαυτὸν, δουλεύσεις τὸν αἰώνα χαλεπαῖς δεσποίναις, οἰήσειν, ἐπιθυμίαις, ἡδοναῖς, ἀδικίαις, ἀφροσύναις, ψευδέστι δόξαις.

*Vis.* iii. 1—2. Those who are to sit on the right hand must have endured μάστιγας, φυλακάς, θλίψεις μεγάλας, θηρία εἶνεκεν τοῦ ὄνόματος. Those on the left hand have the same

δῶρα and promises, μόνον ἐκεῖνοι ἐκ δεξιῶν κάθηνται καὶ ἔχουσιν δόξαν τινά.

*Sim.* viii. In this parable of the rods cut from the great willow the Angel of the Lord orders crowns to be brought, and sends some of the men *εἰς τὸν πύργον* with crowns (2. 1), and some without crowns (2. 2). Those who go at once ἐστεφανωμένοι (c. 433 f.) to the tower are those who *συμπαλαίσαντες τῷ διαβόλῳ ἐνίκησαν αὐτόν* (c. 368 *νενίκηκεν*). The second class, who go to the tower uncrowned, are the *θλιβέντες μὴ παθόντες δέ* (3. 6—7). Of others it is said *καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ κατοικία αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ τείχη τὰ πρώτα* (6. 6). These gradations correspond to the three *περίβολοι* of the *Πίναξ*. *Vis.* iii. 5. 5 μόνον δὲ τοῦτο ἔχουσιν, παρὰ τῷ πύργῳ κείσθαι.

c. 374 *ποῖα τὰ θηρία* ;] With the answer compare Philo *Leg. Allegor.* III. § 37 (M. i. 110) ἐπικατάρατος δέ ἐστι (sc. the ὄφις, which represents ἡδονή) καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὰ θηρία, λέγω δὴ τὰ πάθη τῆς ψυχῆς, τούτοις γὰρ νοῦς τιτρώσκεται καὶ διαφθείρεται. See also *Sim.* ix. 1. 9 and 26. 1, 7 on the ninth mountain, which had poisonous ἐρπετά and θηρία τὰ διαφθείροντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

### § 9.

c. 392 ὅθεν ἥλθε πρῶτον] When a man has been crowned the Virtues take him back to the place whence he came. That the pilgrim should return after reaching his goal is an exceptional feature in the *μυθολογία*, to which Hermas does his best to approximate in *Sim.* ix. When the tower has been built, the approved stones must remain in it. But in chap. 6 the ἀνὴρ ὑψηλός comes and strikes every stone with a rod, and orders those which shew defects to be taken out and laid aside. Afterwards we read that certain stones ἥρθησαν καὶ ἀπετέθησαν *εἰς τὸ πεδίον* ὅθεν ἡνέχθισαν· οὐκ ἀπεβλήθησαν δέ (9. 4), and of others, *τοὺς ἀποβεβλημένους*, we read that the Shepherd commanded the μέλανα ἐνδεδυμέναι to carry them back *εἰς τὰ ὅρη* ὅθεν καὶ ἡνέχθισαν. *αἱ δὲ ἵλαραὶ ἥραν, καὶ ἀπίνεγκαν πάντας τοὺς λίθους, καὶ ἔθηκαν ὅθεν ἐλιφθισαν* (9. 5—6). The

*dēbris* would naturally be cleared away when the building was over; but there is no apparent reason why any of the stones should have been taken back to the places ὅθεν ἥλθον, except that here again Hermas took occasion to imitate Cebes. The word *tópon* (c. 391) in this connexion is found in *Sim.* ix. 4. 7, where the men order the unsightly stones ἀπαχθῆναι [κάτω] εἰς τὸν ἔδιον τόπον ὅθεν ἥνεχθησαν.

c. 393—397] The people there live wretchedly and *κατακεκρατημένοι ὡσπερ ὑπὸ πολεμίων* (*Vis.* i. 1. 8 θάνατον καὶ αἰχμαλωτισμὸν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισπώνται), under the power of 'Αλαζονεία, Κενοδοξία (*Mand.* vi. 2. 5, viii. 5), Φιλαργυρία (*Hermas πλεονέξια*), and other evils.

c. 401 f.] For they have forgotten τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Δαιμονίου πρόσταγμα (p. 298). Compare c. 12 ὡς προστάττων τι, 473 f. τί προστάττει, 521 f. ἢ προστάττει. *Mand.* iv. 1. 10 προσετάγη. *Sim.* v. 1. 5 τήρησον τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ πορευόμενος ἐν τοῖς προστάγμασιν αὐτοῦ.

The Δαιμῶν holds a χάρτην (c. 62) in his hand, but his commandments are not written like those of the Shepherd. The *Tabula*, depreciating the written word, like Socrates in Plato's *Phaedrus*, assigns γράμματα to Ψευδοπαιδεία (c. 531). Hermas, having regard to the letter of Holy Scripture, transfers the gift of γράμματα to the Church (p. 318).

c. 406 f. οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἔδει οὐδὲν ἡπίστατο οὐδὲν τῶν ἔκει, ἀλλ' ἐνεδοίαζε] Hermas denounces doubt under the name διψυχία and as the opposite of faith. The remedy for doubt in the *Tabula* is ἡ ἐπιστήμη τῶν συμφερόντων (c. 411, 512). With οὐκ ἀκριβῶς κ.τ.λ. compare *Vis.* iii. 10. 9—10 ἀλλ' αἱ διψυχίαι ὑμῶν ἀσυνέτους ὑμᾶς ποιοῦσιν καὶ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον. ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτῷ πάλιν εἰπον· 'Αλλ' ἀπὸ σοῦ, κύριε, ἀκριβέστερον (c. 543) αὐτὰ γνωσόμεθα. *Mand.* iii. 4 ἀκριβῶς. *Sim.* ix. 1. 3 δεῖ δέ σε παρ' ἐμοῦ ἀκριβέστερον πάντα μαθεῖν.

c. 415 f.] Wherever he goes now there is safety for him, ὡσπερ τῷ τὸν Κωρύκιον ἄντρον ἔχοντι. Everywhere πάντα καλῶς βιώσεται, and men welcome him ὡσπερ τὸν ιατρὸν

οἱ κάμνοντες (c. 419). He is not troubled by Λύπη (c. 423), οὐτε ὑπ' ἀλλοῦ κακοῦ οὐδενός (c. 424 f.). *Vis.* iii. 13. 2 εὐθὺς ἐπελάθετο τῶν προτέρων λυπῶν (c. 426 τῶν πρότερον αὐτὸν λυπούντων). *Vis.* iv. 3. 4 οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀποβαλεῖτε (c. 371 ἀπέρριψεν) πᾶσαν λύπην καὶ στενοχωρίαν. *Sim.* vi. 3. 6 καὶ οὐκέτι οὐδὲν πάσχουσι τῶν πονηρῶν.

In *Vis.* iii. 8. 11 Hermas is told to repeat εἰς τὰ ὡτα τῶν ἀγίων what he has heard, ἵνα ἀκούσαντες αὐτὰ καὶ ποιήσαντες καθαρισθῶσιν ἀπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν αὐτῶν. Thus he is to be their *iατρός*. *Mand.* xii. 3. 3 εὐρήσεις γὰρ χάριν, they will welcome him. The return of the pilgrim (c. 392 n.) is only strange as allegory. In plain language, he who has received instruction is in a position to instruct others, and οὐ σοὶ μόνῳ ἀπεκαλύφθη, ἀλλ' ἵνα πᾶσιν δηλώσῃς αὐτά (*Vis.* iii. 8. 10, 9. 10). *Sim.* v. 5. 1 ἵνα γνωστὰ πᾶσι ποιήσῃς αὐτά.

c. 425 ἀπάντων κυριεύει] *Mand.* v., vii., ix., xii., and *Sim.* ix. 2 κατακυριεύειν.

*Mand.* ix. 10 καταφρόνησον οὖν τῆς διψυχίας καὶ κατακυρίευσον αὐτῆς ἐν παντὶ πράγματι, ἐνδυσάμενος τὴν πίστιν τὴν ἴσχυρὰν καὶ δυνατήν. ή γὰρ πίστις πάντα ἐπαγγέλλεται (c. 95, 275), πάντα τελειοῦ.

*Mand.* xii. 4. 2...ότι ἔκτισε τὸν κόσμον ἔνεκα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν αὐτοῦ ὑπέταξε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ τὴν ἔξουσίαν πᾶσαν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τοῦ κατακυριεύειν τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν πάντων; 3. εἰ οὖν, [φησί], πάντων ὁ ἀνθρωπὸς κύριός ἐστι τῶν κτισμάτων τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πάντων κατακυριεύει, οὐ δύναται καὶ τούτων τῶν ἐντολῶν κατακυριεῦσαι; δύναται, φησί, [πάντων καὶ] πασῶν τῶν ἐντολῶν τούτων κατακυριεῦσαι ὁ ἀνθρωπὸς ὁ ἔχων τὸν Κύριον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ.

Hermas alludes to man's dominion (Gen. i., Ps. viii., Heb. ii.) over all things, including the *θηρία*, whereof the *ἀγρία* evil *Ἐπιθυμία* is one which δυσκόλως ὑμεροῦται (*Mand.* xii. 1. 2), cf. πᾶσα γὰρ φύσις θηρίων κ.τ.λ. (*Jas.* iii. 7).

c. 435 f. καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς δοκοῦσι τετρίφθαι] *Sim.* vii. 3 Ἀλλως, φησίν, οὐ δύνανται θλιβῆναι, ἐὰν μὴ σὺ ή κεφαλὴ τοῦ οἴκου [ὅλου] θλιβῆς. Compare the allegorising of the dress

of the Virgins in *Sim.* ix. 13. Hermas uses ἐκτρίβειν, suggested by *τετρίφθαι*, in *Mand.* x. on λύπη (c. 435), and *Sim.* vi. 1, 2.

c. 439—442] Some turn back ἀπεγνωσμένοι (*Vis.* i. 1. 9, *Mand.* xii. 6. 2, *Sim.* ix. 26. 4). Others turn back (*Sim.* i. bis, ix. 14. 1 ἐπανακ.) ἀποδεειλιακότες, and πλανῶνται ἀνοδίᾳ (*Vis.* iii. 7. 1). *Sim.* ix. 1. 3 μηδὲν δειλαινόμενος, 21. 3 οὕτω καὶ οἱ δίψυχοι, ὅταν θλῖψιν ἀκούσωσι, διὰ τὴν δειλίαν αὐτῶν εἰδωλολατροῦσι καὶ τὸ σομα ἐπαισχύνονται τοῦ Κυρίου αὐτῶν.

c. 450 οὐχ ἔαυτοὺς αἰτιῶνται] *Mand.* ix. 8 σὺ οὖν μὴ διαλίπης (c. 582) αἰτούμενος τὸ αἴτημα τῆς ψυχῆς σου, καὶ λήψη αὐτό. ἐὰν δὲ ἐκκακήσῃς καὶ διψυχήσῃς αἰτούμενος, σεαγτὸν δίτιῳ καὶ μὴ τὸν διδόντα σοι. *Sim.* vi. 3. 5 πολλοὶ γάρ ἀκαταστατοῦντες ταῖς βουλαῖς αὐτῶν ἐπιβάλλονται πολλά, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς δλως προχωρεῖ. καὶ λέγοντιν ἔαυτοὺς μὴ εὐδοῦσθαι ἐν ταῖς πράξειν αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἀναβαίνει αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν ὅτι ἐπραξαν πονηρά, ἀλλ' αἰτιῶνται τὸν Κύριον. Hermas in *Vis.* i. 1 was at first χρόνον τινά (c. 519) with Ἡδυπάθεια and Ἀκρασία. Afterwards he speaks evil (c. 451) of Rhoda as a false accuser and οὐχ ἔαυτὸν αἰτιάται.

c. 460 ἰλαραί τε καὶ γελῶσαι] In *Vis.* i. 1. 8 γελάσασά μοι λέγετι Ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀνέβη ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῆς πονηρίας, where γελάσασα comes in strangely, it may have been suggested by the *Tabula*. *Vis.* i. 2. 3 ὁ πάντοτε γελῶν, τι...οὐχ ἰλαρός; Hermas makes much use of ἰλαρός, and he personifies Ἰλαρότης in *Sim.* ix. (p. 296).

c. 470 ὥστερ αἱ νῆσε] After conducting men to Παιδεία the Δόξαι return to fetch others, as ships τὰ φορτία ἔξελόμεναι, πάλιν ἀνακάμπτοντιν, καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν γεμίζονται.

Keeping the word φορτίον, Hermas writes in *Sim.* ix. 2. 4 that the Virgins ἐγδεδυμέναι ἥσαν λινοῦς χιτῶνας καὶ περιεξωσμένοι εὐπρεπῶς ὡς μέλλουσαι φορτίον τι βαστάζειν. In chap. 3 they spread out their hands ὡς μέλλουσαι τι λαμβάνειν παρὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, and they receive stones for the tower. These they carry separately to their places in the tower (which as Ecclesia represents Παιδεία), returning again and again for other such φορτία. Not wanting the word γεμίζειν here, Hermas uses it of another sort of vessel in *Mand.* xii. 5. 3.

c. 495 *τραπεζίταις*] One of the characters common to Hermas and Cebes is Ἀλήθεια. In c. 295 f. she seems to be a daughter of Ἀληθινὴ Παιδεία, and in *Sim.* ix. 15 she is one of the twelve Virgins. *Mand.* iii. commends truth, with artificial reference to Cebes and a saying in the *Διδαχή*, thus,

Πάλιν μοι λέγειν Ἀλήθειαν ἀγάπα, καὶ πᾶσα ἀλήθεια ἐκ τοῦ στόματός σου ἐκπορευέσθω, ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα, δὸς Θεὸς κατόκισεν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ταύτῃ, ἀληθὲς εὑρεθῆ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ οὕτως δοξασθήσεται ὁ Κύριος ὃ ἐν σοὶ κατοικῶν ὅτι ὁ Κύριος ἀληθινὸς ἐν παντὶ ῥήματι, καὶ οὐδὲν παρ’ αὐτῷ ψεῦδος. 2. οἱ οὖν ψευδόμενοι ἀθετοῦσι τὸν Κύριον καὶ γίνονται ἀποστερηταὶ τοῦ Κυρίου, μὴ παραδιδόντες αὐτῷ τὴν παρακαταθήκην ἦν ἔλαβον. ἔλαβον γάρ παρ’ αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα ἀψεγκτον. τούτο ἐὰν ψευδὲς ἀποδώσωσιν, ἐμίλαναν τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ ἐγένοντο ἀποστερηταὶ.

Mr Jerram writes on c. 499, “θέματα, a later Greek word. The usual term is παρακαταθήκη.” This we find in *Mand.* iii., and with it there the rare word ἀψευστον from Philo *De Spec. Legibus*, Περὶ Παρακαταθηκῶν (M. ii. p. 341), ‘Εὰν δὲ ὁ μὲν λαβὼν ὡς ἱερὸν χρῆμα παρακαταθήκην ἀψεγκτον\* οἴεται (sic) δεῖν φυλάττειν, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἔφεδροι κ.τ.λ.

The *πνεῦμα* in man, according to Hermas, is a deposit, which he should give back on demand ἀψευστον as he received it. Compare *Sim.* ix. 32. 2, 3 *reddite igitur ei spiritum integrum &c.* Philo *Quis R. D. Haeres* § 21 f. (M. i. 487), on λάβε μοι in Gen. xv. 9, λάβε μὴ σεαυτῷ, δάνειον δὲ ἡ παρακαταθήκην νομίσας...παρακατέθετο δέ σοι αὐτῷ ψυχὴν, λάγον, αἴσθησιν ὁ ζωοπλάστης, ἢ συμβολικῶς δάμαλις, κριός, αἴξ.

In c. 494 f. we have in effect the “*Logion*” γίνεσθε δόκιμοι *τραπεζῖται* (Resch, *Agrapha*), which a succession of Church writers from Clem. Alex. take to mean, Be as practised “exchangers” who detect and reject base coin. Philo, Cebes, Hermas, Matt. xxv. 27 and 1 Tim. vi. 20, 2 Tim. i. 14 suggest a better interpretation.

c. 513 ἀσφαλῆς δόσις καὶ βεβαία καὶ ἀμετάβλητος] Read with Praechter ἀμεταμέλητος. Rom. xi. 29 ἀμεταμέλητα γάρ

\* “Forsitan ἀψευστον” here has not the support of Hermas.

τὰ χαρίσματα. To Hermas the word suggests also 2 Cor. vii. 10—11 on the two kinds of λύπη, one of which works μετάνοιαν εἰς σωτηρίαν ἀμεταμέλητον. Accordingly he writes in *Mand.* x. 2. 1, 4 "Ἀκούε, νῦν, φησίν, ἀνόστε, πῶς ἡ λύπη ἐκτρίβει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον καὶ πάλιν σώζει...αὐτὴ οὖν ἡ λύπη δοκεῖ σωτηρίαν ἔχειν. Λύπη in the *Tabula* is an evil, but as a handmaid of Τιμωρία may lead to Μετάνοια and salvation (c. 174—185).

The βεβαία δόσις of Παιδεία is the true Ἐπιστήμη τῶν συμφερόντων (c. 411, 512). Hermas in several places uses such words as σύμφορος, ἀσύμφορος, εὔχρηστος, ἀχρηστος (c. 529, 541 f.). *Vis.* v. 5 αὐτὰ τὰ κεφάλαια (c. 457) τὰ ὄντα ὑμῶν σύμφορα. *Sim.* vi. 1. 3 αὐταὶ αἱ ἐντολαὶ σύμφοροι εἰσὶ τοῖς μέλλοντι μετανοεῖν. vii. 5 συμφέρον.

c. 518] On the Church and Ψευδοπαιδεία see page 318.

c. 520 ἐφόδιον] Passing by for the present the explanation of the Vigil of Hermas with the Virgins given in No. 42 of this JOURNAL, we have to compare the narrative with possible parallels in the *Tabula*.

*Sim.* ix. 10. The Virgins having swept and washed round about the tower so that ἐὰν ἔλθῃ ὁ Κύριος there may be nothing μέμψασθαι, the Shepherd departs for a little while leaving Hermas alone with them. The Vigil, in which, "dormiens et vigilans" (c. 700 f.), he sleeps and yet prays ἀδιαλείπτως with the Virgins, is described in the next chapter.

XI. Λέγουσι μοι αἱ παρθένοι. Σήμερον ὁ ποιμὴν ὥδε οὐκ ἔρχεται. Τί οὖν, φημί, ποιήσω ἐγώ; Μέχρις ὁψέ, φασίν, περιμεινον αὐτὸν καὶ ἐὰν ἔλθῃ, λαλήσει μετὰ σου, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔλθῃ, μενεῖς μεθ' ἡμῶν ὥδε ἔως ἔρχεται. 2. λέγω αὐταῖς. Ἐκδέξομαι αὐτὸν ἔως ὁψέ· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔλθῃ, ἀπελεύσομαι εἰς τὸν οἶκον, καὶ πρωῒ ἐπανήξω. αἱ δὲ ἀποκριθεῖσαι λέγουσί μοι. Ἡμῶν παρεδόθης· οὐ δύνασαι ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀναχωρῆσαι. 3. Ποῦ οὖν, φημί, μενῶ; Μεθ' ἡμῶν, φασί, κοιμηθήσῃ ὡς ἀδελφός, καὶ οὐχ ὡς ἀνήρ. ἡμέτερος γάρ ἀδελφὸς εἰ, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ μέλλομεν μετὰ σου κατοικεῖν· λίαν γάρ σε ἀγαπῶμεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ησχυνόμην μετ' αὐτῶν μένειν. 4. καὶ

ἡ δοκοῦσα πρώτη αὐτῶν είναι ἡρξατό με καταφιλεῖν καὶ περιπλέκεσθαι (c. 90, 153): αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι ὄρῶσαι ἐκείνην περιπλεκομένην μοι, καὶ αὐταὶ ἡρξαντό με καταφιλεῖν καὶ περιάγειν (c. 100) κύκλῳ τοῦ πύργου καὶ παίζειν μετ' ἐμοῦ. 5. κάγῳ ὥστε νεώτερος ἐγεγόνειν καὶ ἡρξάμην καὶ αὐτὸς παίζειν μετ' αὐτῶν. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔχόρευον, [αἱ δὲ ωρχοῦντο,] αἱ δὲ ἥδον· ἐγὼ δὲ σιγὴν ἔχων μετ' αὐτῶν κύκλῳ τοῦ πύργου περιεπάτουν, καὶ ἵλαρὸς ἥμην μετ' αὐτῶν. 6. ὀψίας δὲ γενομένης ἡθελον εἰς τὸν οὐκον ὑπάγειν αἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀφῆκαν, ἀλλὰ κατέσχον με. καὶ ἔμεινα μετ' αὐτῶν τὴν νύκτα, καὶ ἐκοιμήθην παρὰ τὸν πύργον. 7. ἔστρωσαν γὰρ αἱ παρθένοι τοὺς λινοῦς χιτῶνας ἑαυτῶν χαμαί, καὶ ἐμὲ ἀνέκλιναν εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐδὲν δλως ἐποίουν εἰ μὴ προσηνέχοντο· κάγῳ μετ' αὐτῶν ἀδιαλείπτως προσηνέχομην, καὶ οὐκ ἔλασσον ἐκείνων. καὶ ἔχαιρον αἱ παρθένοι οὕτω μον προσενέχομένου. καὶ ἔμεινα ἐκεῖ μέχρι τῆς αὔριον ἔως ὥρας δευτέρας μετὰ τῶν παρθένων. 8. εἶτα παρῆν ὁ ποιμήν, καὶ λέγει ταῖς παρθένοις· Μή τινα αὐτῷ ὑβριν πεποίηκατε; Ἐρώτα, φασίν, αὐτόν. λέγω αὐτῷ· Κύριε, εὐφράνθην μετ' αὐτῶν μείνας. Τί, φησίν, ἐδείπνησας; Ἐδείπνησα, φημί, κύριε, ρήματα Κυρίογ δλην τὴν νύκτα.

μενέεις] The Virgins, like the Vices, ἀξιοῦσι παρ' αὐταῖς μένειν (c. 154). περιπλέκεσθαι here is suggested by Cebes, and likewise ἐμπλέκεσθαι in *Sim.* vi. 2. 6.

ὑβριν] *Mand.* viii. 10 ὑβριν ὑποφέρειν. *Sim.* vi. 3. 4 ὑβριζόμενοι ὑπὸ ἀναξίων. *Sim.* i. 6 ἀνυβρίστως. With inverted reference to the ὑβρις done to a man by Ἡδυπάθεια (c. 160 ὑβρίζετο), Hermas in *Sim.* ix. 11 makes the Shepherd ask, Did they (the ascetic Virtues) do thee any ὑβριν?

Ἐδείπνησα] Having stayed a while with Ψευδοπαιδείᾳ, a man should take from her as a *viaticum* γράμματα and μαθήματα (c. 531). The Church gives Hermas γράμματα...τῆς γραφῆς from her booklet (*Vis.* ii. 1. 4, 2. 1), and with the Virgins he sups on ρήματα Κυρίου (Matt. iv. 4). But why δεῖπνον for ἐφόδιον? Hermas, not being on a pilgrimage, does not want any ἐφόδιον, but a supper suits the occasion. This therefore he is made to have, with allusion (we may suppose) to κυριακὸν δεῖπνον in 1 Cor. xi., as elsewhere the *Pastor*

alludes to Baptism. When a man comes to himself after abandonment to Ἡδυπάθεια, αἰσθάνεται ὅτι οὐκ ἥσθιεν (c. 159). In *Sim.* v. 2. 9, 5. 3 the ἐδέσματα from the Master's δεῖπνον are ἐντολαῖ.

The character of Ψευδοπαιδεία is not clearly indicated by her name. She is stationed on the true and only way to Ἀληθινὴ Παιδεία (c. 206 f.), and her teaching is not necessarily misleading, although her ἐρασταῖ may deceive themselves by mistaking it for the one thing needful. To others it is a useful ἐφόδιον.

Ψευδοπαιδεία and Ψευδοδοξία (c. 195 f.), with Ἀπάτη, meet in the pseudo-prophet of Hermas, who claims to have the Spirit, lives in deceits and deceives, but speaks some truths, and may be mistaken for a true prophet. *Mand.* xi., on the prophets, commences, "Εδειξέ μοι ἐπὶ συμφέλλιον καθημένους ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ἔτερον ἀνθρωπον καθήμενον ἐπὶ καθέδραν. Ήταν ψευδοπροφήτης, ως ἀπόλλυσι τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν δούλων τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν διψύχων (1). These come to him ὡς ἐπὶ μάγον (al. μάντιν), and he πληροῖ (c. 329 ἀνεπλήσθη) τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν, καθὼς αὐτὸι βούλονται (2). τινὰ δὲ καὶ ρήματα ἀλητῆ λαλεῖ (3). How is he to be known from the true prophet? The man who has τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ θεῖον may be known by his life (7). The false prophet, ὁ δοκῶν πνεῦμα ἔχειν, lives ἐν τρυφαῖς καὶ ἀπάταις (12), and εἰς συναγωγὴν ἀνδρῶν δικαιῶν οὐκ ἐγγίζει (c. 560), but associates with the doubleminded and deceives them (13). σὺ δὲ...τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἐπιγείῳ καὶ κενῷ μηδὲν πίστευε (c. 484), ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ δύναμις οὐκ ἔστιν (17).

*Mand.* xi. 1 suggests that the Church, who at first sits (like the ψευδοπροφήτης) ἐπὶ καθέδραν (p. 289), represents not only Παιδεία but also in part Ψευδοπαιδεία, the teacher of the "beggarly elements." In *Vis.* ii. the Church gives Hermas γράμματα, a mark in Cebes of some who frequent the δεύτερον περίβολον (c. 560 f.). *Vis.* i. and *Vis.* iii. correspond to the first and third περίβολοι.

On γράμματα in the *Pastor* and in the *Tabula* see also under c. 401 f. (p. 312).

## § 10.

c. 627 f. *αἰρετώτερον τὸ ἀποθανεῖν*] So Menander,

*ζοῆς* (al. *ζω.*) *πονηρᾶς θάνατος αἰρετώτερος.*

In *Vis.* iv. 2 (p. 290) Hermas gives an application of the saying, thinking also of Matt. xxvi. 24, Mark xiv. 21.

The time and space at my disposal not sufficing for what remains to be said on "Hermas and Cebes," I will for the present end with the statement that the discoverer referred to at the beginning of this article is Dr J. M. COTTERILL, who in his full notes sent to me in 1895 remarks, that "To any one who makes a thorough study of the subject it is plain that there are very few passages indeed in Hermas in which the *Tabula* is not in his mind to a greater or less degree."

Looking back to the articles which I had previously written on or relating to *Hermae Pastor* for the JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY, I feel now that a right view was taken in them of the general character of his materials and his way of using them, but that there were things in the *Pastor* which only a comparison of it with the *Tabula* could explain.

C. TAYLOR.

CAMBRIDGE, 1900.

## ERRATA.

In heading of Article p. 51 and in running titles to pages 53, 55, 57, 59,

for ΧΑΝΘΟΣ read ΞΑΝΘΟΣ



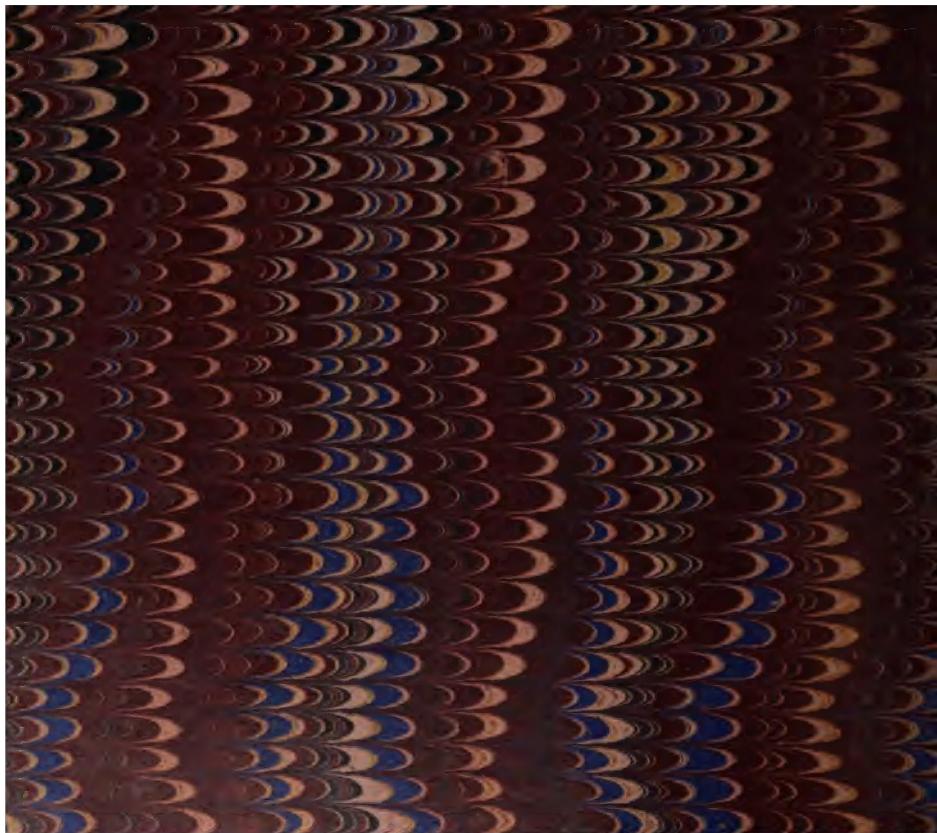


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